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PHILIPPINE LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

A TYPICAL ROAD ON OUTSKIRTS OF FILIPINO VILLAGE. THIS SHOWS ESPECIALLY WELL HOW THE CLUMPS OF BAMBOO GROW

PHILIPPINE LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

By JAMES A. LE ROY

American Consul at Durango, Mexico
For Two Years Connected with the United States Philippine Commission During the Establishment of Civil Government in the Philippines

ILLUSTRATED

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
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TO MY WIFE

IN MEMORY OF PHILIPPINE DAYS

PREFATORY NOTE

IN preparing this book, free use has been made, particularly in Chapters VI. and VII., as well as to some extent in the concluding chapter, of contributions by the author to the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, 1903, and the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1905, and thanks are due to the editors for their permission to make use of this matter.

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PHILIPPINE LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

PHILIPPINE LIFE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY—THE POINT OF VIEW

THIS book, it should be stated at the outset, has not been written with the aim of maintaining any thesis, or even of serving as an exposition of any policy, with regard to the "Philippine question" as it enters into the politics of the United States to-day. Its purpose is to set forth the Filipinos as they are, avoiding on the one hand psychological speculation under the guise of analysis of their characteristics, and on the other hand political propaganda in behalf of any theoretical plan for their future government or in behalf of the compromise plan under which they are at present being ruled.

Nevertheless, in setting forth the life of the Filipinos, so far as it is national in scope and in

its individual and tribal manifestations, we must at every step graze the edge of the political questions of the day. Precisely because the "Philippine question" still looms so large upon our national horizon, and because it has for eight years called forth estimates so widely at variance with each other as to the actual status of the Filipinos, as individuals and as a people, and as to their capacities and capabilities for the future, it is necessary to establish at the very beginning certain fixed points of departure for an exposition which, though confined within brief limits, aims to be comprehensive as well as impartial. In dealing with the Filipinos of to-day, in a transitional stage as they are, the point of view is all-important.

One must believe that much of the public confusion as to the facts regarding the Filipinos and their country has been due to the failure, on the part both of writers and readers, either to take, or if taken to preserve, a definite point of view toward the subject. If we leave the history of the Filipinos unheeded,—and that is what a great many critics and commentators seem to have assumed they could safely do—we are plainly going to get a very different report on them from the man who approaches the question with a perfect faith in the regenerative power of universal suffrage and in the innate capacity of all peoples for self-government on the national scale, than we shall get from the man who thinks all Malays

are alike incapable of progress beyond the tribal stage. The latter is the attitude of our typical British critic, and of his American imitator in compiling "colonial precedents," who are so sure that Great Britain has worked out among Malays and their kindred in other parts of the Orient just the recipe for us to follow in the Philippines, that they never pause to inquire seriously, in Philippine history, as to whether or no other elements have there entered into the problem. Their view is compounded of that mysterious illogicality which makes of the Oriental a being utterly distinct from the Occidental—a fellow we do not know, we cannot know, and we be hanged if we try to know—and of unwavering confidence in the entire superiority of the white man and his mission to manage, if not quite own, the earth. Yet, by one of those curious juxtapositions of friends and foes which political controversies often bring about, the American Anti-Imperialists have often preferred to follow, as to the status of affairs in the Philippines, the testimony of genuinely Imperialist witnesses, the critics, on grounds of British and Dutch experience, of the present American policy in the islands. The two points of view are in reality diametrically opposed: the typical Anti-Imperialist, whether moved primarily by irreconcilable opposition to any territorial intermeddling by the United States in the Orient or by sympathy for a Filipino republic, sees in the Filipinos a nation, composed

of people genuinely desirous of maintaining a real national life and intelligently capable of doing so; while the Imperialist student or administrator, fresh from study or experience of European colonial undertakings in the Orient, and an enthusiast on the subject of white supremacy, regards an independent Filipino government as neither possible nor desirable. Viewpoints so radically separate cannot merge into each other; and that there has been, and continues to be, so much confusion of testimonies regarding the Filipinos is due in large part to the desire of the oppositionist in politics to take all grist that comes to his mill.

We have, then, first of all, to make plain from what standpoints we shall approach the study of the Filipinos. We shall have fixed in mind the first and most important of these when we say that by the word "Filipinos" we mean the Christianised inhabitants of the archipelago, who constitute nine-tenths of its total population, excluding the pagan and more or less savage tribes of the hills and forests and the Mohammedan Malays of the southern part of the archipelago, commonly called "Moros." An amazingly great amount of confusion has arisen from the failure to preserve clearly this fundamental distinction. The fact that it is considered vital by the Filipinos themselves, that they feel themselves entirely separate from the scattered communities of pagans in the more inaccessible parts of the archipelago and from the Moro water-men of the

south, is in itself sufficient reason for preserving the distinction. However close may be the analogies between Christians and non-Christians as traced by the ethnologist, or the sociologist and historian, there is in fact a sharp dividing line between the communities over which Spain really extended her rule, and whom she effectively influenced during her three centuries of dominion in the archipelago, and those outlying communities which remained virtually free of her social and religious influence and almost entirely free of her political control. Some separate consideration will be given in the succeeding chapter and near the end of this volume to the Moros and pagans. The rest of the work will be devoted quite exclusively to the Filipinos proper. It is their communities which displayed more or less willing allegiance to the Tagalog organisation of government in 1898, and which have more or less tenaciously opposed the erection of American sovereignty in their country. In setting forth their social and political aspirations, so far as they may be said to have them, in reconstructing their manners of life, social and industrial, it is necessary at every hand to trench upon matters more or less under controversy; the aim will be to preserve a strict impartiality on these matters, giving the Filipino always the benefit of the doubt where doubt there may honestly be, and erring in the direction of optimism as to his traits and capacities wherever there may be error.

It is not the purpose of this work to present the history of the Filipinos, and in fact the historical mode of treatment has been expressly avoided. Yet precisely because the Filipinos, the Christian Filipinos, have been differentiated from other communities of Malays by somewhat more than three centuries of Spanish rule and Spanish missionary work, it will be necessary to revert to the main features of their history at every stage of the exposition. In a good deal of what has been written of late, regarding the proper policy for the United States to pursue, it seems to have been assumed that Spanish dominion in the Philippines may practically be disregarded. Scant justice is ever done to Spain, or to Spanish aims and achievements in the line of colonisation, by writers in the English language; indeed, there has been quite commonly displayed a tendency to ignore, complacently and even contemptuously, Spanish history in the Americas and in the Orient. Such an attitude comes from sheer ignorance, and nothing less, though there goes with it something of the narrow-minded race-prejudice which sneers at the Spaniards of to-day as "decadent" and "one of the lesser breeds." But the sober, enlightened historian cannot cultivate such narrowness, any more than he will in future be influenced by the hysterical misrepresentations of Spain which culminated in the American press in 1898.

The Spaniards did influence the Filipinos pro-

foundly, and on the whole for the better. There are ways, indeed, in which their record as a colonising power in the Philippines stands to-day unique in all the world for its benevolent achievements and its substantial accomplishment of net progress. We do not need to gloss over the defects of Spain, we do not need to condone the backward and halting policy which at last turned the Filipinos against Spanish rule, nor to regret the final outcome of events, in order to do Spain justice. But we must do full justice to her actual achievements, if not as ruler, at any rate as teacher and missionary, in order to put the Filipinos of to-day in their proper category. Spain has never yet fully entered into the nineteenth century, politically nor intellectually, in the Peninsula itself; how much less was she able to guide a backward people of the Orient, themselves but awakening to contact with the world at large, and dimly aware of the goal toward which they feel it within them to strive, into advantageous contact with the currents of modern life. Dogmatise as you please about the racial and environmental inheritance of the Filipinos, as being of the Orient, the fact that they themselves rejected Spain as an unsatisfactory mentor in Occidental civilisation is an indication of their fitness for further progress in that direction. The Imperialist may safely be challenged to find a parallel for the Filipino revolutionary movement of 1898 among the similar peoples who have

been under English and Dutch rule in the Orient. The fact that the Filipinos should have progressed under Spanish rule to the point where they should formulate demands so unique in the Orient is in itself the highest praise for Spain.

It is necessary, too, that the historical viewpoint should be taken in considering every phase of Filipino life of to-day, because, as hinted, the Filpinos are in a transitional stage. For him who would set definite limits to the possibilities of achievement of every race but the white (and perhaps, too, within the ranks of the peoples called Caucasian themselves), and who have adopted the traditional "thus far and no farther shalt thou go" as the gauge of Malay possibilities, this view will be deemed heretical. Once again, it rests upon the plain facts of Filipino history.

Secondly, it must be made clear at the outset in what disposition we are to approach the facts of Filipino life and past history with reference to the desirability or non-desirability for this people of social and intellectual freedom. Merely to state the question thus baldly is sufficient to settle what should be our attitude upon it, certainly before an English or American audience. Yet so intimately have the religious orders been connected with the history of the Philippines, so largely have they dominated the writing of this history, and so thoroughly did they identify themselves with the reactionary campaign against

the expansion of Filipino freedom, social and political, in recent years, that one must pause to protest exemption from religious bias when he but recites the facts with rigid impartiality. Surely no apology is needed, and none will be made, for approaching the subjects treated in this book from the standpoint of one in agreement with those great general principles of political, social, and intellectual freedom which modern liberalism, in particular the liberalism of the nineteenth century, may be regarded as having established as permanent truths. The matter of church or creed does not at all enter into this rule of procedure with reference to the Philippines; indeed, it is not, properly speaking, a religious question at all. No real American, be he Catholic or Protestant or unbeliever, will justify mediævalism and reactionism, political and social, scientific and philosophic, even though it shall mask itself under the garb of religious faith. If we do justice to the Christianising and educative work of Spain in the Philippines, we shall needs do justice to the Spanish friars, the chief agents in this work until the last century; but there is no injustice to the friars of the Philippines, considered in the light of history, if we regard them as an anachronism in 1898.

They had then for some forty years been neglecting the works of charity and religion which lay at their hands for a bitter politico-religious campaign against what they deemed the horrors

of modern life and thought. Just as they have twisted the pages of early Philippine history into self-glorification of the achievements of their respective orders, so they filled the Spanish controversial literature of the last part of the nineteenth century full of depreciation of the Filipinos, in order to assure the continuance of their reactionary religio-political rule in the islands. The "friar-question" is, therefore, writ so large upon the face of Philippine history and current affairs that we cannot disregard it, if we would, for the sake of avoiding, in the minds of the uninformed, even the semblance of a bias. It enters into every phase of our subject, and has coloured even the most of the literature regarding the Philippines produced since 1898. In this work, an attitude will be assumed frankly and cordially in sympathy with the aspirations of the Filipinos toward liberalism and modern life and progress. This is but a corollary of the faith already expressed in the capacity of the Filipinos for social progress. The friar's last cry for the re-establishment of theocratic rule and the Imperialist's dictum on the "inferior races" spring alike and equally from human pessimism and selfishness. The best Filipinos are optimistic as to their race and its future. We ourselves can at least be decent enough to give them the benefit of the doubt, if not to encourage that optimism.

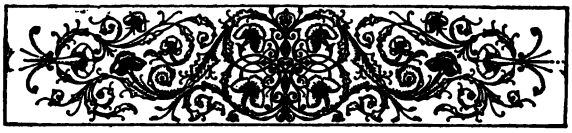
How far are we justified, however, in accepting the proportionately very small class of Filipinos

possessing education and social position as spokesmen and representatives of their people? Many who have looked at the Philippines and Filipinos only superficially, and some who have looked deeper into the social structure of the islands, regard this class as merely a sort of hybrid social product, as they are in a great number of cases of mixed European and Asiatic racial origin; the mass of the people, they think, remain purely "Asiatic" (and by Asiatic they mean something distinctively, essentially, non-European, not differing merely in environment or in detail) in their social and political ideas and their intellectual tendencies and capacities, quite as they regard the Christianisation of these people by the Spanish friars as having been little if anything more than a change of religious forms. That there is a large measure of truth in this view, or at least that there are many facts in Philippine history past and present to give it confirmation, is unquestionable. The line of inquiry need not be here followed up; it need only be suggested to have it become plain that it goes to the very vitals of current Philippine politics. Its mention brings us to the statement of the third general aim in writing this book. This is to set forth the status and life of the great majority of the Filipinos rather than of the traditional leaders and economic bosses of these masses, of the ignorant peasantry, rather than of the somewhat distant and unsympathetic upper class of property and

education, the caciques. Preferentially, that is, space will be devoted to the humble Filipinos; but to some extent, in order to do justice to the subject before us, it will be necessary to treat the classes separately. At any rate, the effort will be to avoid the practice that has been altogether too common of late of drawing the most sweeping generalisations on the basis of data relating exclusively to one class or the other of this population. Strictly speaking, this book is not so much a presentation of "Philippine Life in Town and Country" as it is of "The Filipinos Above and Below," though the Philippine natives of education and property centre mainly in the chief units of population.

Having fixed these three chief points of departure for our discussion of the Filipinos—with which attitudes, of course, any one is free to quarrel, once they have been plainly stated—the remainder of the task depends upon accuracy in the recording of facts. This task is by no means so simply reportorial as it would appear. Instead of helping to a general concensus of opinion on Philippine data, the mass of matter that has accumulated in the English language since 1898—and merely its amount is such as to invite mental bewilderment and confusion on the subject—has tended to obscure the facts under a cloud of controversy. Philippine history, both recent and long past, has been reconstructed to suit the needs of a momentary theory, and real investiga-

tion of the facts has been most unblushingly dispensed with. The most amazingly diverse psychological analyses of the Filipinos have been made, quite in the same spirit and after the same methods. Philippine bibliography of 1898 to 1905 is a study of most curious interest, for its own sake alone. Before plunging into this vortex of confusion, with the customary little protest of strict impartiality, one may well breathe a prayer to those kindly angels who, it must be, weep over the inaccuracies of the busy modern printing-press.



CHAPTER II

RACIAL ORIGINS AND BLENDS

THAT the native stock of the Philippine Islands is Malayan is one of those things that have been recognised "always, everywhere, and by all." But, in the writings especially of recent years, so many fantastic strains of blood have been introduced into the archipelago, and so many purely hypothetical and often unreasonable conjectures as to diversity of tribal origin have been evolved in the treatises of library-workers or whilom globe-trotters, that the underlying homogeneity of the inhabitants of the archipelago has often been obscured. While this work is in no sense an ethnological treatise on the Philippine Islands, and the subject of racial origins is introduced here only for the purpose of getting clearly in mind just what sort of clay it is upon which three hundred years of Spanish ecclesiastical domination have wrought, yet it may as well be boldly asserted at the outset that very little of what has been written on the ethnology of the Philippines is of permanent value, and that most of it needs an entire rewrit-

ing. In scientific matters, Spain made in the Philippines, as she has made at home, comparatively but slight progress, even during the nineteenth century. Most of the valuable scientific work in the Philippines has been done by foreigners, especially Germans. Several of the German writers on Philippine ethnology had the benefit of some scanty field-work in the islands themselves; but the whole situation is best summed up by saying that the writer who has lately been quoted as the principal authority on Philippine ethnology, and who has published some scores of studies on the subject, was never in the islands at all. His work has been given altogether a fictitious value, for lack of proper, authoritative publications in this field. A Blumentritt, working in the library with the inaccurate data of untrained Spaniards or Spanish-trained Filipino observers, might be expected to produce treatises of a sort very much inferior to the library studies of a master like Virchow. In this, as in other directions, the Americans have found the Philippines almost a virgin field. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the first real scholarly work in Philippine race-lore is now being done in the only place where it can properly be done, in the islands themselves; at any rate, the first ethnological study in the Philippines of a comprehensive sort has been conducted during the past four years, under the Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Government.

Sweeping away a good deal of the trash that has accumulated about the subject in the writings of busy, superficial pamphleteers like Retana, this work, though yet in its beginnings has pointed the way quite plainly to the general conclusion that was stated at the outset of this chapter, viz., that the racial stock of the Philippines is quite homogeneous. This is the thing to be kept in mind while we still must flounder about for a time in the confusion created, in part artificially, by diversity of tribal names and a rather bewildering intermixture of varying states of civilisation existing in the islands. Later on in this book we shall be called upon to consider how far there may be said to be political and social homogeneity between the Christian inhabitants of the various provinces and principal islands who came under the influence of Spain. It is noteworthy that the very Filipinos who have set up the most comprehensive claims for the existence of a real nationality among these communities are themselves quite commonly most eager to reject their unity with the backward peoples of the hills or of the Mohammedan waterways, if not on scientific, at least on social and political grounds. It is, however, more encouraging for that broader statesmanship which looks to the farther future to feel reasonably well assured of the underlying racial unity of the peoples of the archipelago, despite the very great practical divergencies which must be recognised in the

politics of to-day. There was reason in the protest of the most intelligent Filipinos against what they feared might be the more immediate political result of the display of Igorots at the great fair at St. Louis, had there been, as a matter of fact, any great danger of the general public in the United States being misled into forming an estimate of the status and capacities of the Filipino populace in general from these primitives of the mountains. On the other hand, the recognition of a general unity of racial origin between these primitives and the more advanced lowlanders of to-day is, viewed in a broader way, in itself educative as to the racial capacity for progress; the difference between the most advanced Tagalog community of to-day and the primitive industries and petty warfare of the villages of the hills—whether or no we regard it as having been brought about entirely during the Spanish *régime*—is flattering to Filipino possibilities.

It is but recently that an English writer (A. R. Colquhoun, in his *Mastery of the Pacific*) said: "In writing of the ethnology of the Philippines, it is difficult to reconcile the many theories put forward at different times as regards the wonderfully mixed tribes found in those islands. The discovery of their words in different languages and their peculiar customs and racial characteristics elsewhere has led to wild surmisings; until, unable to digest the mass of writings on the subject, one is apt to arise with the conviction that

tribes belonging to every race in the world are to be found there."

But one year later we find the then chief of the Philippine Ethnological Survey, Dr. David P. Barrows, sketching out in its broadest outlines the preliminary work that has convinced him of the essential unity of the Philippine peoples (*Report of the Philippine Commission, 1903*). At the same time, this simplification of the underlying bases of ethnological work in the islands does not rob it of its promise of rich returns, but rather enhances its importance both for the legislator for the islands themselves and for the student of humanity in general. Relating the results of an extensive study of the Igorots by Dr. Albert E. Jenks, Doctor Barrows summarised it as showing, "amidst a wealth of detailed information, that the Igorot of the Bontok culture area, an area nearly coextensive with the old Spanish *comandancia* of Bontok, is probably as primitive a Malayan type as there is in Luzon. His culture is Malayan in practically every essential, and is not, as so often said, the result of Chinese and Japanese influence. Both the social and political organisation reveal conditions never before brought out in writings on Philippine tribes. One social institution, fostering a form of trial marriage, is similar to an institution far in the interior of the Asiatic mainland, and is one of two or three hints that the original home of the primitive Malayan was much farther inland than is commonly believed.

"The social and political institutions as revealed by the study are such that controlling and developing legislation may be prepared which should carry the Igorot successfully forward toward American ideals. A great deal of new and purely scientific data has been gathered, among the most striking of which may be mentioned the discovery of a primitive currency. This currency is based on *palay*, the unthreshed rice. It has, in its crude way, all the essentials of modern money. Mention should also be made of the discovery of facts which suggest a new theory of the origin of clothing. It also appears that primitive man may become a metal-worker, apparently unaided by modern peoples, without passing through the Stone Age. His study also revealed that there is no better place in the world than this archipelago to study the beginnings and fundamentals in the science of mankind."

It does not entirely elucidate our problem, however, to say that the Filipinos are, from north to south of the archipelago, of the same general origin, and that they are Malays. We are not yet wise enough to say just who or what the Malay is. He is the typical brown man of the Asiatic seas and their confines, and the name brings to mind, because of the faithful labors of English descriptive and scientific writers, dealing with the regions lying south-westward of the Philippines, a water-man *par excellence*, a pirate through a mixture of enterprise and of an

indisposition for effective political organisation or law and order on any general scale, and, more commonly, a Mohammedan on whom the tenets of that religion lie much less lightly than they do farther westward toward the spiritual centre of that faith. The old geographies had a simple way of dividing mankind according to colour in to white, yellow, brown, red, and black races; and, though scientists have of late played havoc with many of the theories of this easy method of classification, there is still something about it sufficiently logical to forbid its entire rejection. The brown men of the Pacific defy identification with the pure Mongolian type of the mainland, quite as their own diversities of colour and condition lend themselves to varying conjectures as to racial crosses by which they may have been produced. The Polynesian, ranging farther eastward over the Pacific, is not to be confused with the typical Malay.

"Indonesian," a term employed by most writers to hint at a possible strain of Caucasian blood found in some of the lighter-coloured and larger-bodied of these island peoples, is as yet little more than an indication of how the anthropologist is puzzled in his endeavour to untangle the racial knots of the Pacific and to classify the peoples even on broad general lines. All these elements of difficulty, it would seem, enter into the problem in the Philippine Islands. Whether the Malay is only a more divergent strain of the

A MARKET WOMAN WITH A BASKET OF MANGOES ON HER HEAD

Mongolian family, differentiated by centuries of existence on the shores and in the islands of the great ocean, or represents again a primitive blend of Mongolian and Caucasian (in some, at least, of his subdivisions) in the remote days of early human life on the greatest of continents, are broader questions underlying our general "Oriental problem" of to-day, but a solution of which would be as yet mere hazard. In their little sharp-prowed and outriggered craft, the Malays incessantly pressed from outpost to outpost in the ocean, during how many centuries we may not say, though their migrations were still going on when what we conceited newcomers call the "historical period" began in the Far East. Sweeping up from the south-west, in successive and probably quite continuous waves, they peopled the Philippines. The earlier, bolder wanderers struck still farther north, and there seems every reason for identifying the people of Formosa with those who still keep their primitive customs in the mountain-tangles of north-central Luzon and in the outlying islets. Possibly we may carry the chain of settlements still farther, spanning the interval through the Liu-Kiu Islands to Japan itself, and conjecturing that, underneath the more modern and undeniably Mongolic main element of Japan's population, there is a strain of sea-faring Malay blood. The suggestion is keenly interesting, if merely as a hint, in these days of Japan's predominance in the Orient.

No good evidence has yet been brought to light that the migrations which carried into the Philippines the ancestors of the hill-peoples of the present time were altogether distinct from those which brought the forerunners of the present inhabitants of lowland Luzon and of most of the central and southern islands. The inhabitants of the hills of the two great islands of Luzon and Mindanao are, however, quite plainly of that earlier type of Malay which, in Borneo's interior and in Formosa, for example, has been called Pre-Malay. The weapons of the head-hunter, the tree-houses of some tribes, and the rude but by no means contemptible methods of agriculture, aside from the less material evidences of cultural state, point to a community of origin between these now scattered hillmen. The hillmen of eastern and interior Mindanao have been supposed, in a succession of writings based on little investigation, to introduce the "white element" into the Philippines. There are elements, physical and cultural, which bespeak for them some separate consideration; but it now seems quite certain that the name "Indonesian," so far as it is taken to imply their existence apart from the other peoples of the archipelago or their non-identity with the common underlying Malayan stock, is misleading and inaccurate, whatever may ultimately prove to be true as to the infiltration of Caucasian blood among the island peoples.

It seems reasonable to suppose that these

earlier Malays were followed in their onward movement into the Philippine Archipelago by others of their kindred who, probably less from an admixture of other blood than from their longer residence in the more densely populated islands to the south-west, had acquired new cultural elements to some extent differentiating them. There is a Sanscrit element in the dialects of the lowland peoples of the Philippines, and in some of the dialects spoken to-day in the more unexplored interiors of certain islands. This points to the time when the Malays of Sumatra and the neighbouring islands were worked upon by traders and Buddhist missionaries from India. Somewhat similar, in all probability, was the origin of the alphabet by which the Malay dialects were reduced to written form—an eastern extension of that same discovery of phonetic chirography which, travelling westward from the shores of the Mediterranean, became so important an accompaniment of the ever-expanding civilisation of the Occident. Some of the primitives of the Philippines to-day, occupants of the interior of several undeveloped islands, have this half-developed phonetic alphabet, quite as all the people along the coasts had at the time of the Spanish discovery. If we allow for the longer contact of these coast-dwelling peoples with the currents of primitive Oriental trade and civilisation off the south-west of Asia, and for their occupation at the arrival of the

Spaniards of the more fertile river-valleys and plains along the sea, we shall probably get a very fair idea of their relative advancement over the peoples of the hills and forests at the time when the work of the friars began. Undoubtedly, their manners were less rude, as also they were less sturdy and independent of spirit; but the differences in their state of culture, both before and under the Spanish domination, have been differences rather of envirnoment and circumstance than of divergent racial traits.

Another element, again circumstantial and not racial, had begun to differentiate the inhabitants of the Philippines prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. This was a religious influence. The Buddhist encroachment upon Malay centres of dispersion to the southward had been followed by that of a religion more vigorously proselytising, when Mohammedan missionaries reached Sumatra from Java. However early this movement of religion with trade may have begun, it progressed most actively during the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries inclusively. It is plain that the Philippines were already to a great extent populated by Malays before the islands to the south-west had come under the influence of the teachings of the Prophet. The Malays who came to the Philippines already Mohammedanised were the typical sea-rovers and pirates whom we are apt to think of, to the exclusion of all other qualities, when the name "Malay" is mentioned.

Their movement north-eastward was still going on when Magellan sailed into the archipelago on his westward course. When Legaspi took Manila, a half-century later and near the close of the sixteenth century, the Mohammedan religion had already entered the comparatively populous valleys centring on the Bay of Manila, and the firearms introduced by Mohammedan traders and conquerors were used to resist his men. Had the Spaniards, then gone about the exploration and conquest of Mindanao as vigorously as they undertook that of Luzon and most of the central islands, Mindanao would not be in part quasi-Mohammedan to-day; feeble as was Spain's hold on these far-distant possessions at times, and vacillating as were her steps in asserting authority, Spanish power and organisation were so far superior to those of any Mohammedan community or confederation of the ocean that, wherever Spain took firm hold in the Philippines, Christianity and not Mohammedanism became the religion of the future. Indeed, a full century later, after Arab and converted Malay followers of the Prophet had made their position seemingly secure on the western and southern coasts of Mindanao and along the water-courses debouching thereupon, the Spanish Jesuits so readily made inroads among their followers and so nearly won a large part of this region that, had not the power of the sword been withdrawn from the support of the cross on account of dangers threatened to the

northward, it seems reasonable to predict the belying for once of the old assertion that Christianity cannot make proselytes in the Orient in the face of Mohammedanism.

How far the more typical Mohammedan Malays of the Sulu Islands, allied closely with some of the tribes infringing on the coasts of Mindanao, and to be found also in southern Palawan, may be regarded as reaching the Philippines at a somewhat later stage than the Malays who did not become converts to Islam, and may be regarded also as racially differentiated from the latter, is again a question not to be settled dogmatically nor at once. As indicated, these "Moros," in Spanish phraseology, are in all ways the typical Malay of our English writings, quite comparable to the Malays of the Straits Settlements and those who live on and by the water farther south. The sea robber of the south was harrying and carrying into slavery his more agriculturally inclined brother in the islands to the north when the Spaniards arrived; and the introduction of a contest for supremacy between Christianity and Islamism only aggravated a condition of mutual hostility already existent. It is impossible to say that we should not recognise in these water-men of the south a somewhat separate branch of the Malay family, not racially distinct, but possibly somewhat modified in blood. It is altogether safer, however, and it is quite sufficient for all purposes of explanation, to regard

these two differing sorts of civilisation in the Philippines as the product of differing environment and history. Quite as we conceive the Igorot and the "Indonesian" of Mindanao to be types of the Philippine Malay who have developed along different lines from those of the Christian inhabitants of the valleys and coasts, so we may look upon the "Moros" in their turn as the heirs of different social conditions, but close kindred to their brothers who accepted the Spanish religion and only in time turned against Spain because their appetite for a more complete Europeanisation in government and educational affairs was not satisfied.

In thus refusing to recognise the divergencies of physical type and social culture in the Philippines as interfering with our conception of the underlying racial unity of the people of the archipelago, we do not, of course, overlook the influence of such racial intermixture as has taken place as a matter of definite knowledge, since Malays first peopled the archipelago. So far in this discussion, the Negritos, the "little blacks," who are generally conceded to be the aborigines of the Philippine Islands, have been treated as altogether a negligible quantity. Found here and there, in their primitive state of forest nomads, on the fringes of certain islands, along the untouched mountain-spines of others, or in unexplored forest areas, these dwarfs, whose number, in anything like their pure state, is generally

estimated at about twenty-five thousand, cannot be said to have claim to future importance except for the anthropologist. They passed over to the invading Malays their knowledge of the bow and arrow, which, however, the latter people have continued to use only here and there, in still unsettled regions. It is only in such regions that the intermarriage of Malay with Negrito has seemed to give rise to a new element in the racial composition of the archipelago. In unexplored portions of north-east and south-east Luzon, in eastern Mindanao, in Mindoro and parts of Palawan, and in certain of the islets bordering upon these larger geographical divisions, the Negrito-Malay intermixture is often a helpful explanation of racial variations that are noted, though it is to be exploited with caution. But, except for the anthropologist, these traces of Negrito influence are of slight importance. Everywhere, the Negrito has given way before the Malay; even in the little bands wherein his stock is preserved almost in its purity, his primitive language cannot be traced, but only a word here and there gives a hint of what was his form of speech before he borrowed the language of his encroaching Malay neighbours.

How far there was intermingling, racial or social, of the Malays of the lowlands and those of the hills,—the Pre-Malays we may say, to adopt a convenient term,—prior to the coming of the Spaniards, is a matter not easy to settle nor im-

ONE OF THE BETTER SORT OF BAMBOO HOUSES OF THE LOWER CLASS
BUILT WITHOUT NAILS OR HAMMER

portant. We may suspect that the milder lowlander has come more closely into contact with his ruder, more vigorous brother since the beginning of Spanish domination than before. Always, especially in the less-settled and developed regions, the fringe of distinction between them and their communities widens, with the tendency to merge all distinctions gradually. The line of differentiation between those peoples who have come under the Spanish influence and those who, both from geographical situation and inclination, resisted Christianisation, remains, however, perfectly well marked. Most mixture has occurred, it would seem, in those smaller islands or wilder parts of the large islands where missionary efforts never gained so fully the upper hand and there was a tendency always for the lowlander natives to "flee from the bells" and seek a more unconstrained life in the forests and hills. The *Remontados*, or "Remounted," renegades, in friar-phraseology, are found in undeveloped islands like Mindoro and Palawan, in long-settled islands like Sámar and Bohol, whose interior is wild and rough and has not favoured full settlement and Christianisation, and only in more isolated instances in Luzon and some of the smaller islands which have been quite fully settled. Indeed, in the more settled communities of Luzon and the chief islands of the Bisayas, the tendency to "remount" and escape the compelling restraints of a civilisation in some respects

irksome, to avoid the penalty of crime, or, in many cases it doubtless has been, to flee from the abuses of authority or a maladministration of government, has been displayed not so much in a return to the primitive life of the forests as in the formation of bands of outlaws. The close connexion of the inveterate ladronism of the Philippine Islands with the activities of an over-paternal, sometimes tyrannical, friar or military commander in the towns, is a thing thoroughly well established.

Such intermixture of the Mohammedan Malays with those who preceded them into the Philippines as has taken place either before or since the conquest by the Spaniards has been due almost entirely to the aggression of the "Moros." This was rather increased than diminished by the entry of the Spaniards and their missionaries. The scourging of the coasts of the Bisayan Islands and even of Luzon was a thing of almost annual occurrence up to the middle of the eighteenth century, and lasted, though more spasmodically, during an entire century thereafter. As already indicated, many of the Malays who had reached Mindanao at an early date were turned Mohammedan by the proselyting influence of the sword, in the form of a *bolo* or *kris*, wielded by a brown man of a more aggressive type than his predecessors, who possessed also a somewhat superior social organisation to impose upon those he conquered. But Islamism was checked in its north-

ern advance, and, in general, the Christian and Mohammedan Malays of the archipelago have remained in hostile separation and to-day feel nothing in common with each other.

Some of the fantastic stories of Philippine ethnology as thus far it has been written have to do with a supposed great influence upon Filipino blood of divers racial elements introduced under the Spanish domination. The Philippines were, in the early years after the conquest under Legaspi, the fitting-out place for the expeditions by which Spain sought to conquer the East Indies in general and to support the Portuguese possessions in India, for a time united with the Spanish possessions under the single crown. Soldiers were brought from Mexico for these conquests, soldiers of mixed American blood, as well as Spanish-Mexican half-castes. But this infusion of blood has long since merged into the general stock of the lowland populations of the Philippines, and it would be quite fanciful to seek to find evidences of its influence among the Filipinos of to-day. The notion of tracing the existence of settlements of other East Indian peoples in the Philippines is still more whimsical. There is, for instance, a town in the province of Cavite named after the island of Ternate, because the loyal converts of the Spanish and Portuguese friars on Ternate were removed to Cavite at the time the last successful raid of the Dutch upon this outpost among the Spice Islands was made.

The ornaments of the mission church of Ternate are still preserved in this Cavite village; indeed, were in 1904 the object of a petty struggle between the Roman Catholic authorities and the people of the town, who have mostly turned schismatic under the banner of Father Aglipay. But, as this very fact indicates, the people of the Ternate town of to-day are Filipinos in no sense distinguishable from their neighbours.

The stories of Chinese and Japanese influence being traceable among the non-Christian settlements of northern Luzon, particularly among the unusually even-featured Tingians, are, in all probability, quite as fantastic, while there is less reason for taking them into account than for assigning some little importance to the annual entry into the Philippines of Mexican soldiers during a period of approximately one hundred years. The stories of shipwrecked Japanese sailors and of Chinese piratical expeditions which settled on the north-west coasts of Luzon are the bases of these errant hypotheses of distant writers on Philippine ethnology which have perennially perpetuated themselves, passing on from one writer to another. As a matter of fact, there is much more reason for taking into account the admixture of Chinese blood among the Christian populations of the Philippine lowlands than among the Tingians or other peoples of the hills who are their close kindred. The Chinese, keen traders as they always are, flocked to the Philip-

pines, especially to Manila, almost from the first days when the Spaniards set up their headquarters. Chinese trade with the islands had then been going on for some centuries; a Chinese geographer of the thirteenth century, Chao-Yu-Kua, describes the trade with those islands as already a well-established route. But, from being a group of islands to which the Chinese could annually bring implements of iron, weapons of one sort and another, some porcelain, and a limited quantity of garments of silk, etc., the Philippines were, by the arrival of the men from Europe, converted into a centre of exchange for all the finer fabrics and hand-made articles of luxury which the clever Chinese traders could obtain from the interior of their own country or from its smaller neighbours.

The silver of Mexico was a lure which drew annually hundreds of their small trading junks across the stormy passage to Luzon, and, from the earliest years, Manila was the *entrepôt* of that trade which gave her the name "Pearl of the Orient" during the seventeenth century. Around the Spanish settlement on the Pasig grew up a great colony of Chinese, retail dealers, artisans of every sort, and even gardeners, coming with a knowledge of the various manual trades which the Filipino had not and, with their keen competition, ousting him even from those callings for which he had some preparation. The cheaper fabrics of China, too, entered the islands now,

thrusting aside to a considerable extent the goods of native weave worn by the Filipinos and causing, as the early Spanish writings show, a decline in native industry. The Chinese settlements about Manila came to number, twice during the seventeenth century, upwards of fifty thousand people, and bloody and probably inexcusable slaughters of the Chinese relieved for the time being this menace to effective Spanish rule and the competition which made the Chinese so hateful to the natives. During certain intervals, Spain sought to prohibit entirely the entry of Chinese as residents of the country, and particularly to prevent their travelling or settling in the provinces. Shifting its plans, the government sought to encourage their importation as agricultural labourers, forbidding them those commercial pursuits in which they always worsted the natives, and into which, through bribery or governmental inefficiency, they always drifted. At all times, special taxes and burdensome restrictions were laid upon them. But the Chinese continued to come, except at intervals, and, while a larger number enriched themselves and returned to their native country, a respectable contingent of each generation married in the Philippines and settled down for life. Hence, there has been, for at least three centuries, a very considerable infusion of Chinese blood into the civilised population of the Philippines.

Yet, although Chinese half-castes are to be

found in all provincial towns, it is only in Manila and a few of the larger of the centres of provincial trade where Chinese traits, physical and social, may be said to have been impressed upon any considerable portion of the population. Elsewhere, the crossing of Chinese with Filipino has been in individual cases only, not sufficiently numerous to count, except in the fact that the Chinese father generally laid the foundations of a little fortune and the family he founded is, in consequence, usually well-to-do, and hence of influence in the community.

In Manila and the other places where intermarriage has taken place on a large scale during several hundred years, it is, rather curious to note, the Chinese element which has been submerged rather than the Filipino. In order to marry under Spanish rule, the Chinese must turn Christian, be baptized and married according to the only ritual which the law recognised, that of the established Church. Moreover, it was almost necessary, in order to obtain more than a certain degree of success in business and status in commercial circles, that the Chinese trader should become, nominally at least, a Christian. With his baptism, the loss of his queue, his marriage with a Filipino woman and settlement in the country as parishioner of some friar-curate, the Chinese fortune-seeker was converted, to all intents and purposes, into a Filipino, often adopting also the European garb of the tropics. His

children were, of course, brought up as Christians and Filipinos. Hence, the half-caste son of a Chinese father and Filipino mother was a Filipino rather than a Chinese; and, as these half-bloods went on marrying into the Filipino population, the Chinese blood has, in a social sense, continually been submerged more and more fully under the Filipino. This fact affords an interesting commentary on the theory of those who find the Chinese so far superior to the Filipinos that they will not take into account the fact that the semi-Europeanisation of the latter has enabled them to impose their social rule upon the Chinese who have settled in the islands, instead of the reverse being the case. It also, in part, belies the declaration often made, upon the basis of incomplete data, that the Chinese will not settle permanently where they immigrate, but seek only to gain a fortune with which to return home, and that they will not adopt the social customs of another people.

Finally, we have to note the intermarriage of Europeans, mostly Spaniards, with the Filipinos, and the existence in the islands of a class of half-castes who stand somewhat apart by themselves. These *mestizos*, as they were called under the Spanish *régime*, are, speaking generally, the aristocracy of the islands. So far as the position of that aristocracy is based upon education, they formed the majority of its members until the latter part of the nineteenth century, and they

still form a very great proportion of it. So far as the village aristocracy is based on wealth, the Filipinos with a varying quantity of Spanish blood in their veins are, together with the Chinese half-castes, quite decidedly in the majority. In regard to social position, the Filipinos having Spanish blood had, of course, under the Spanish *régime*, quite the preferential position. Still, there was no very rigid rule of caste, and it was rather by their position as the families of education or of property, or of both, that the Spanish *mestizos* held predominance. Only in the sense that the term "*mestizo*," or half-caste, referred, unless specified, to a Spanish-Filipino, while a Chinese-Filipino was, except in the first generation, scarcely ever known as anything but a Filipino nor cared to insist upon his position as such, were there, until within recent years, well-defined classes based on blood in the Philippines. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, until within recent years, there were never at one time more than a few thousands of pure-blooded Spaniards in the islands. Though race-hatred became involved with the political controversies of recent years, still there were never drawn such rigid distinctions of social status, amounting almost to caste-rules, as were fully recognized under Spanish rule in Mexico, and other of the American colonies of Spain. In the Philippines, there were only the "Peninsular" or Spaniard (sometimes applied to the Spaniard born in the

islands, the "creole," as well as to the Spaniard born in Spain), the Spanish *mestizo*, and the native who, if of the ordinary mass of the population, was called the "*Indio*," or "Indian."

The Spanish and Portuguese intermarriages with the native populations of the countries which they conquered have long been the butt of the Anglo-Saxon historian's ridicule, as pointing the moral that national decline will follow such racial intermixture, if not in a direct reflex influence upon the home-country at least in the loss of prestige in the colonies. In this connection, it is often boldly asserted that the product of such marriages, the "Eurasian" as he is called in the East, is a sort of mongrel, inferior to the European and renegade to his Oriental stock. Here again, the precedents which British students and administrators have gathered in other colonies of the Orient are not to be applied, certainly not without a great deal of caution, and probably not at all, in the Philippines, where the conquering race gave its religion to the conquered and settled down among them, not infrequently, like men who had come to stay and to be, to some extent, of themselves. It may be suggested, as a point which possibly some of the dogmatists on the Orient have never considered, that there would very likely be a great deal of difference between the Eurasians born of a union of Portuguese sailors, British soldiers, and other rovers and outcasts with native women of the most abandoned

and lawless type, as was usually the case in the seaports, and the Eurasians born of the union of respectable Spaniards of the middle class, or even better social position and cultivation, with the very pick of the native women of the Philippines, for both physical beauty and intelligence; the children of these Philippine alliances, moreover, were quite commonly reared in the best homes of the locality in which they lived, had the best educational advantages afforded in the provinces and in Manila, and frequently were sent to Spain, often also to Paris, for further education. He who examines Philippine social conditions on the spot and with care and attention will hesitate a long while before he will commit himself to dogmatic assertions as to the disastrous effects of crossing the European with the Oriental. Certainly, the Filipino *mestizos* are, speaking generally, the leaders of their people's progress to-day. Once again, before venturing the common generalisation that this is due to the strain of "superior" blood, it may seem quite sufficient explanation to point out that they have, in general, been the Filipinos who were born into social position, into educational opportunities, and into the possession of property. The beginnings of industrial progress in the Philippines during the last forty years have led to the development of a middle class, still wofully limited in all parts and entirely non-existent in some; with some prosperity, this class had, even under the old *régime*,

begun to get education; and the most encouraging thing of these four or five decades past has been the appearance of Filipino leaders from among the people themselves, full Filipino in origin, owing their opportunities mainly to their own efforts, and displaying a degree of intelligence and patriotism which is, to say the least, hopeful. Meanwhile, it remains true that the spokesmen of Filipino opinion, the men of greatest authority in Filipino communities, among them being both conscientious leaders and selfish bosses abusing their people, are in the main the men in whose families runs a strain of Spanish blood.

CHAPTER III

A TYPICAL FILIPINO COMMUNITY

THE islands over, among the Christian Filipinos who are the chief objects of this study, one community and the life therein are quite the same as in any other community. There are differences, of course, effected mainly by geographical location and the production of different crops. So, also, some regions are fairly well populated and, as compared with other sparsely occupied areas, moderately well-developed in an agricultural sense. Besides these varying factors, which will be considered elsewhere, some little account must be made of such difference between "town" and "country" as exists between the life of the Filipinos in a few centers of population, notably Manila, and that of the inhabitants of the ordinary town. But the typical Filipino community is a rural community, and throughout the country in general there exists no such line of distinction between village and farm as may be found in countries which have reached some degree of industrial development, such countries being especially those out-

side of the tropics. The Filipino town comprises both town and country in the ordinary sense of these words. Under one governmental unit, the old *pueblo* of Spanish phraseology, are included the main centre of population, which may range anywhere from a cluster of two hundred houses to a thriving rural city with perhaps a cathedral church, with secondary schools and even a printing-press, and the outlying rural districts, sometimes spreading over an area of forty or even more square miles, in which are various subordinate little centers of population, with from ten to several hundred houses in each, commonly called *barrios*, again a Spanish governmental term.

Occasionally, the roads radiating from the town proper to the various *barrios* are quite thickly lined with the cane houses of the humbler natives, and here and there the stone house of some well-to-do proprietor. In other sections, generally those less well-developed, or where the land is not parcelled out to any extent but is held in large estates managed centrally, the tendency toward a concentration of population is more marked. It is always, however, apparent, and has a historical as well as economic basis. In the days before the conquest, the little communities under petty chieftains were held together for protection against the depredations of neighbouring chieftains, and clustered at convenient places along the sea-shore or along the water-

courses. It is not historically true that the Spanish friars "introduced" village life in the Philippines. They did, however, labour to concentrate the population more than had hitherto been the case, their object being to bring the people "under the bells," where the paternalistic and theocratic rule which they introduced might be more easily administered; indeed, in the very beginning, in order that the people might the more easily be converted *en masse* and catechised. They also sought to bring into these communities those who had been trying to live a more independent life in huts scattered through the more or less pathless forests. As years went by, the construction of roads connecting the principal settlements operated steadily toward a uniform, orderly existence, though this work was by no means entirely completed at the end of the period of Spanish rule and the Philippines remain to-day a country of wretched roads and defective communication between areas of population.

The Philippine town, then, is not, strictly speaking, a village, but corresponds more nearly to an American "township." Its area ranges in size from that of one of the townships of our Western States to that of a small county. During the past two years, by a process of consolidation of the smaller municipalities with adjoining municipalities of the same or larger size, the more than one thousand *pueblos* of the Spanish *régime* have been reduced in number to about six

hundred, for purposes of administrative simplicity and economy. Each of these has from eight to eighteen administrative divisions (with a Councilor from each), each division comprising from one to six scattered *barrios*. A *barrio* may be but a little cluster of huts, located on the edge of the yet untouched forest or where they will be contiguous to the planted crops; but a *barrio* may also sometimes be a little village in itself, with its separate school (quite as it had a *visita*, or chapel dependent upon the parish church of the town in Spanish times) and with a thousand or more inhabitants. Such is the geographical and political aspect of the Philippine town.

A—The Family and Social Life

It is the family in the cane house in which we are principally interested. There is a sharply defined line always to be drawn in the Philippine community between the residents of the stone house, the proprietors, the social and political masters, the possessors of education in general who live in the comparatively few structures of this sort, and the mass of the people who dwell in their own segregated democracy of simplicity and subordination. During the last quarter-century of the Spanish *régime*, the training of village school-teachers in the normal schools of the Jesuits was helping toward the formation of a diminutive middle class, holding their position

by education, just as the expansion of commerce and industry which had been begun under the oversight of foreigners, mostly British or other non-Spanish Europeans, was operating in another direction toward the creation of a middle class. This was the merest beginning, however, and had affected only a few of the more favoured rural districts outside of the capital and a few other centres of population. In general, the Philippines remain without a middle class, and hence without those gradations between top and bottom in the social scale which make for homogeneity of social sentiment and the corresponding political unity which alone can create or sustain a free government. How far this condition is inevitable in a tropical community is a question not at this moment in discussion.

All writers on the Filipinos, even those who have treated them with least sympathy, have found much that was pleasing in their family life. This is an observation, indeed, common throughout the Orient, where society is so pre-eminently based upon the family. Parental authority, though apparently exercised but lightly, as a rule, is so thoroughly grounded in Philippine social customs as practically to require little recognition in the outward forms of law, at least in a harsh way. Most foreigners who have had a really good opportunity to see Philippine village life have commented on the pretty custom which brings the children around their parents to kiss

their hands as the Angelus bell sounds above the palm and cane structures of the town, while old and young bow their heads to murmur the evening prayer. Observers, both of brief and long sojourns, have not agreed as to how far there is real affection, deeply rooted, between the members of a Filipino family.

It strikes harshly upon the European sensibilities that burials have, in general, so little of the funereal accompaniments of most lands, and that, once the brief ceremonial at the church is over and the tears have been shed over the hasty interment in the shallow grave of the Filipino poor, the body often being given back to Mother Earth only in a light shroud and the box which conveyed it being returned to the village undertaker for subsequent use, the pitiful little foot-procession goes back to its daily round with impassive, even sometimes laughing faces. Indeed, if the family purse allows, the occasion may be seized for a feast, even also a dance, and, extenally at least, there is all the semblance of gaiety about the reunion of family and friends. Feasting, even riotous living, are, however, associated with funerals in lands which boast of a higher social development, as witness the Irish "wake" (which in its origin may very likely have been similar to the feast for the souls of the dead arranged by the primitive Filipino). In their attitude toward death the Filipinos undoubtedly partake of that fatalism which is so marked in

the Orient. Still, their apparent callousness to death seems to the outsider to betray something less pleasant than the comforting resignation of "The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." It is always hazardous, however, for the outsider, who can only in the rarest cases come to know the intimacies of Filipino life and thought, to draw conclusions from external manifestations which are different from those to which he has been accustomed. Certainly, he who has broken through the shell of racial differences and then through the further shell of social differences separating him from the Filipino "common people," if but for an occasional glimpse at the heart of the bereaved Filipino parent or spouse, will not fail there again to recognise the "touch of human nature" that "makes the whole world kin," and will thereafter behold the stoical Filipino funeral procession with less certainty as to its signifying brute callousness.

Death is all too common in the Philippines, not less among the young and middle-aged than the old. In particular, infant mortality is high, for reasons which will later be mentioned in order to lay bare their pitiful story of ignorance of sanitation and defect of medical care and knowledge. But rare is the Filipino house, of cane or stone, without its complement of children, though they be but the survivors of broken family circles; for "race-suicide" is, as may be gathered, quite

unknown as a Filipino social factor. In the cane, and also the stone house, the family is usually not limited merely to father and mother and children. One may often note that in the so-called lower societies, where competition is less keen, industrial development relatively but little advanced, and social stratification less complete, the position of the family as the unit is enhanced in importance, and notably in the degree to which it imposes upon the young and the able-bodied the obligation to care for those who have nurtured them, or even for those who are removed slightly in relationship, but are to be classed as disabled or incapable. What a complex society, with its impersonal charity-organisation, does out of a more remote piety, or out of cold-blooded enlightenment as to social needs, the non-industrial society does by a sort of family feudalism. This obligation to look after parents, and sometimes other relatives, is not only an evidence of the kinship of the Filipinos with the Orient in general, and a survival of the loosely feudal customs prevailing at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in the archipelago; it is also quite in consonance with Spanish customs and Spanish teachings in the Philippines, for paternal authority and filial loyalty to parents are a notable feature of Spanish society—in a way and to a degree, indeed, that constitutes Spain herself still semi-Oriental under some aspects. So in Spanish half-caste houses of the Philippine aristocracy, it

is the common thing to find a sometimes rather embarrassing throng of "poor relations" and dependents of one sort and another. Plainly, the Christianity taught by the early Spanish friars, far from interfering with, would exalt as a social virtue this protectively patriarchal tendency of native Philippine customs. Somewhat allied in origin is the social custom, common in the Eastern Seas, whereby the young man or his family must pay dower to the parents of his future wife, or, in default of such dower, serve for her as did Jacob for his bride. This custom survives in large measure in those portions of the Philippine Islands which have remained most purely native, and especially in the more primitive regions.

Yet the position of woman in the Philippines is not that typical of the Orient. If we may not say that the Philippines are not at all Oriental in this respect, at any rate it is perfectly safe to say that in no other part of the Orient have women relatively so much freedom or do they play so large a part in the control of the family or in social and even industrial affairs. It is a common remark that Filipino women, both of the privileged and of the lower classes, are possessed of more character, and often too of more enterprise, than the men. There seems every reason for ascribing this relative improvement in the position of woman in the Philippines as compared with surrounding countries in the Orient to the influence of the Christian religion and the position

which they have assumed under the teaching of the Church and the directorship of the friars. It is a subject to which it will be necessary to recur in connexion with the question of religion in the Philippines and to reinforce other observations.

The church is still the chief social centre of the Philippine town, though not in so exclusive a sense as it was in former days. The celebration of the patron saint of the town, with elaborate bamboo and wood arches, lantern parades by night, theatrical performances, etc., on the side of lay amusements, was formerly the one great event of the year, and still is in some towns. At high mass on every Sunday there were gathered into the church or about it nearly all the population of the centre of population, together with many who might have crossed rivers or come some miles by road from the outlying *barrios*. The *principalía* exercised jealously the privilege of occupying seats of honour at the centre of the church (perhaps becoming the targets of sermons preached in the too often garbled form of the native dialect which the friar-priest cherished as a proud evidence of his erudition), the rest of the congregation standing or kneeling on the not too clean floors of wood or stone. On some of the saints' and other holy days the thoughts and interests of the population would be concentred upon the church still more than on Sundays, and penitences, fastings, burials, and weddings all helped to give the *padre* the reins over the social

life and thought of the village. During the week, his dwelling, called in the Philippines the *convento*, was commonly the place of consultation for high and low, on matters political, social, and personal; and in the confession-box at the church was completed the chain of conditions which drew practically every family in a town into close subordination to one socio-religious standard. Under the new *régime*, the schoolhouse is tending more and more to become the social centre of the village or *barrio*. Aside from the positive features of the new educational programme in the islands, whereunder the American school-teacher tends to assume in some ways the position of the Spanish friar as social director, religious conditions are working indirectly toward the same end.

In some places, the Catholic schismatics have drawn into their fold the bulk of the population of a town, often even having obtained possession of the churches built under the Spanish *régime*. Upon this schismatic movement Protestantism in religion (especially in the direction of lessening the authority of the priest), as well as considerable liberalism in politics, has impressed itself; and in the larger, and even in many of the smaller towns, Protestantism itself has made some headway directly under its own name, under native as well as American preachers and missionaries. All these things have tended to split the Filipino people on religious matters, and, while leaving the masses somewhat in a state of confusion and

thus far more than ever susceptible to religious quacks and fanatical impostors among their own people, to accelerate among the educated classes, especially the young men, a tendency already noticeable before the revolution to discard more or less openly all allegiance to any church. Yet, even if there had been no schism and if there were no proselyting by Protestants in the islands, a return to the old dominance of village society on religious lines would not be possible, after what happened between 1896 and 1902. The friars are out of their parishes, nor could they, in the majority of places, go back and resume the old sway, in all ways, if protected by a regiment apiece. Even had not the Filipino priests ordained by the Roman Catholic authority in the islands been split into two factions by the Aglipay movement (which will be discussed in the chapter on Religion and the Religious Question), they could not, before the revolution, maintain the same social prestige and authority among their own people as did the Spanish friars, and they certainly cannot do so now.

The preparatory period of the revolution brought about the organisation of secret societies, first among the men of education and property, then among the masses. The contest against Spain and then the United States was maintained rather by organisations of this sort than by a real military organisation of a central sort. The idea of voluntary associations is now very well estab-

lished among the people as a whole, even though the initiative is rarely to be expected among the members of the lower classes themselves. Under the American *régime*, since the establishment of civil government, there is no ban upon associations, so long as their ends are legal and orderly. While in the larger towns workmen's associations have been formed (thus far principally as adjuncts to the desire for self-advertisement of a few restless and shallow demagogues), the Aglipay church has, for instance, carried into every town where it has gone the organisation of committees of men and of women parishioners for the town as a whole, sometimes even for the *barrios*, to have a share in the management of the church and to help in gathering funds. The gatherings to hear Protestant preachers, and the scattering Protestant churches, with their regular little congregations, all tend toward this same end, viz., that of diversifying Philippine social life and of inculcating in the humblest peasant some idea of his freedom to indulge himself socially as he pleases. Night schools, attracting many adults, and conferences now beginning to be held in schoolhouses, are helping on the movement. The so-called political parties which have come into existence since 1900, both those with definite programmes and those organised as the personal organs of certain ambitious Filipinos, furnish in their provincial and municipal committees opportunity for the expression, in its beginnings, of public opinion,

although they are thus far necessarily participated in almost exclusively by the few members of the upper class. How far the new system of education and of local government tends toward this same end will be seen farther along.

The town market-place is always a marked feature of the social as well as industrial life of the community. The American who has discovered that the small vendors, mostly women, as a rule, prefer to peddle out their little stocks, with much haggling and exchange of conversation, to their own countrymen than to sell at a reduced price in larger quantities to the foreigner —indeed, who sometimes charge more if you wish to buy in quantities than if you take but few of their articles—often fails to comprehend, in his impatience, that the going to market and the spending a good part of the day there exchanging gossip is at least as much a consideration with the vendors as the money which is to be obtained. On the sanitary side, even with the improvements which began in a large proportion of the towns under American military rule, the markets leave much to be desired, and in times of epidemics, unless there be rigid and efficient supervision, they are foci of infection. It is the commonest observation of the foreign observer that the Filipino, who is so shockingly ignorant of sanitary principles as regards his house and his community life, and often obstinately disregardful of them even after he has been shown their bene-

fits, is yet surprisingly scrupulous about his personal cleanliness.

If not on the sea, the Filipino town is generally close by some stream, and the daily bath is not a luxury but a habitual necessity for young and old. Needless to say, plumbing difficulties do not intrude, and the bath is taken under the open sky, wherever the best watering-place is to be found. Quite commonly, as from time immemorial, both sexes, young and old, bathe together, the children unhampered by the rags of civilised modesty, the older grown of both sexes in loose and scanty, but never really immodest, attire. Even on the bay front of Manila, where there come to bathe young women and mothers with their children, belonging to all classes of the city's mixed population, except to that which may be said to have that something known as "social position," the critically curious observer will find nothing even suggestive of immodesty, though the dressing and undressing processes may go on in full daylight on the sands of the beach, always under the shelter of the loose robe in which the woman bathes. The Filipino working woman out in the provinces, whose wardrobe is too simple to include stockings, will tuck up her skirts to her knees on a wet day, with no troubling notion of false modesty; but even in the remotest *barrios*, on the edge of the primitive forests, where the people live still closer to nature, and where, oftentimes, the teachings of

European religion and customs have but faintly taken their hold, no trace of wantonness will be found. Whatever lack of morality, according to standards of which peoples who have reached a more advanced state of social progress make ostentation, we may yet have to note in Philippine society, externally at least modesty is a notably prevailing characteristic.

Gossip and scandal exist, as wherever men live and converse together. Their shafts are, however, one suspects, quite stingless as compared with the criticisms of those societies wherein a higher standard is set for man to live up to or come short of. Except in family or other social gatherings, when the entertainers are wont to squander all they may have accumulated in food and drink for their guests, the Filipinos are notably a most temperate people. Gambling is their chief vice, affecting both sexes, the women indulging chiefly in card-games (which in the past furnished almost their only outlet for social relaxation where the eye of the priestly authority was not upon them, and of which there are a number of curious and interesting sorts played in the archipelago), and the men devoting more attention to the cockpit, though wasting their little accumulations also in the government lottery (abolished since 1898), at cards, over the rude pool-tables, etc. Even into the games of the children—which, it need hardly be said, bear the likenesses to the games of other countries

which the ethnologist invariably notes as evidence of universality and human unity—the gambling spirit enters as commonly as not.

There is no need for insisting upon the essentially degrading nature of the pastime of cock-fighting, nor upon the evil that has been wrought in the Philippines by the gambling connected with the sport, which gambling, moreover, has seemed to bear an official sanction in so far as the Government participated in the returns from the sport under the form of licensed monopoly. Not all that has been written about the evils of cock-fighting in the Philippines, nor about the absorbing devotion of the Filipino to his fighting-cocks, is, however, to be accepted as quite literally true. A common exaggeration which has perpetuated itself in the writings of foreign visitors (and is still serving the purposes of occasional chroniclers of things Philippine) may be traced as far back at least as the work of Sir John Bowring (1859), who said: "It is said that many a time an Indian has allowed his wife and children to perish in the flames when his house has taken fire, but was never known to fail in securing his favourite *gallo* from danger." The statements of the much closer observer and more competent student Feodor Jagor, who visited the Philippines at almost the same time as Bowring, are sufficiently indicative of the evils connected with cock-fighting and of the Filipino passion for it:

"The favourite diversion of the Indians consists in the cock-fights, which they follow with a passion that must astonish foreigners. Almost all the Indians frequent these spectacles. Many do not leave their house without carrying in their arms their beloved cock; sometimes they pay fifty *pesos* or more for one, and they waste upon it the most affectionate caresses. The devotion to cock-fights may be called a national vice. It would appear that the Spaniards and Mexicans estab lished it in the islands — just as the English introduced into China the national vice, opium-smoking—but it is most probable that the Malays themselves developed the sport to its present pro portions. In the eastern part of the Philippines, there were no cock-fights in the time of Pigafetta, who saw the first in Palawan: 'They have large fighting-cocks; through superstition, they do not eat them; they breed them only to make them fight, betting on the contestants. The owner of the winning cock receives the amount [laid].' For a European, it is a highly repugnant spectacle. The circular space about the arena is reserved for the public, which is composed of Indians, sweating through all the pores of their bodies, and showing in their faces the evil passions that dominate them. The cocks are armed with very sharp curved knives, some three inches in length, which make a deep and horrible wound, causing the death of one of the combatants. The cock that turns tail like a coward is stripped of

TRAINING GAMECOCKS TO FIGHT

its feathers while still alive. The sums that pass hands are large in proportion to the means of the gamesters. It is evident that this sort of diversion demoralises more and more a people of itself given to idleness and vice and that is easily led by the impressions of the moment. The Indian cannot resist the temptation to get money without working for it. Many load themselves with debts on account of the losses which they suffer, and the bandits and pirates are in great part ruined gamblers."

Finally, we have the description of this brutalising pastime and social evil written by the chief prophet of the new reform party of Filipinos. In one of the chapters of his novel *Noli Me Tangere*, José Rizal describes the Sunday cockpit of the Philippines as follows:

"To sanctify Sunday afternoon in the Philippines, they generally go to the cockpit in the Philippines, as they go to the bull-fight in Spain. The cock-fight, a passion introduced into the country and exploited for a century back [as already seen, Rizal is in part mistaken as to the origin of the sport, and as to its comparative newness in the islands], is one of the vices of the people, more deep-rooted than the opium habit among the Chinese. Thither goes the poor man, to risk what he has, hopeful of gaining money without working for it. Thither goes the rich man for distraction, employing the money he has left from

his festivities and masses in behalf of favours; but the fortune they wager is their own, the cock is trained with great care—more carefully, perhaps, than the son, who will succeed his father in the cockpit—and we have nothing to object to this.

"Since the Government permits it, and even almost recommends it by commanding that the spectacle take place only in the *public cockpits* and on *feast days* (so that all may see it, and be inspired by the example?), *after high mass and until the hour of dawn*, let us attend this sport and find some acquaintances. The cockpit of San Diego differs only in certain details from those to be found in other towns. It consists of three departments: the first, or entrance, is a large rectangle some twenty metres long by fourteen in width; in one side is a door, generally kept by a woman, charged with the collection of the *sa pintu*, or admission fee. Of this contribution, which every one pays, the Government receives a share, amounting to some hundreds of thousands of *pesos* annually; they say that with this money, which vice pays for its free exercise, magnificent schools are erected, bridges and roads are constructed, premiums are established to foster agriculture and commerce—blessed be the vice that gives so good results! In this first enclosure are the women vendors of betel, cigars, sweets, and eatables. Boys swarm about, accompanying their fathers or uncles, who carefully initiate them in the secrets of life.

"This enclosure communicates with another of a little larger size, a kind of *foyer* where the public gathers before each set-to. There are most of the cocks, tied to the ground by means of a cord and a nail of bone or woody-palm. There are the gamesters, the devotees, the expert fastener of the gaff. There the wagers are laid, the propositions meditated, loans sought; they curse and swear; harsh laughter is heard. One pets his bird, stroking his brilliant plumage; another examines and counts the scales on his legs; they tell the exploits of the heroes. There you may see many with peevish countenance, carrying by the feet a featherless corpse; the animal that was the favourite for months, fondled and cared for day and night, and on which were built up flattering hopes, is now only a corpse and will be sold for a *peseta*, to be cooked with ginger and eaten that very night. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* The loser returns to the home where the anxious wife and hungry children await him, without money or fighting-cock. Of all that golden dream, of all those cares wasted during months, of all those fatigues and labours, there is gained only a *peseta*, the ashes left from so much smoke. In this *foyer* the fellow of scantiest intelligence is led to talk and argue; the most frivolous will conscientiously examine the subject of consideration, weigh argument, contemplate, spread the wings and feel the muscles of the animals. Some go well-dressed, followed and surrounded by the partisans of their

cocks; others, dirty, with the seal of vice marked upon their squalid features, follow anxiously the movements of the rich, and wait upon their wagers, for the purse may be emptied and still the passion for the game not be satiated. In that place there is not a face that does not show animation; there you will no longer find the indolent, the apathetic, the silent Filipino; all is movement, passion, eagerness; one might say that they have a thirst which the water of the mire-hole stimulates.

"From this place you pass on to the arena, which they call 'wheel.' The floor, enclosed by cane, is generally a little higher than that of the two preceding departments. Above, and reaching almost to the roof, are benches for the spectators, or gamesters — the terms are here synonymous. During a fight these benches are full of adults and children who cry, shout, sweat, quarrel, and blaspheme; fortunately, hardly any women come in here. Inside the 'wheel' are the men of standing, the rich, the famous bettors, the owner of the cockpit privilege, the judge. On the ground, which is perfectly levelled, the animals fight, and thence Destiny parcels out to the various families laughter or tears, feasts or hunger.

" . . . The circle has been cleared, the fight is ready to begin. The vociferations are ceasing, and the two handlers of the combatants and the expert gaff-fastener alone remain in the

FILIPINO TRANSPORTATION—A COUNTRY SLEDGE DRAWN BY A BULL
RUINOUS TO ROADS

middle. At a sign from the judge, the former bares the steels, and the thin blades glitter, threatening and sheeny. . . .

"The handlers hold the birds with masterly delicacy, careful not to wound themselves. A solemn silence now prevails; one might think that the spectators, apart from the two handlers, were horrible manikins of wax. They approach one cock to the other, letting one peck the other's head to irritate him and *vice versa*. In every duel there must be equality, the same with Parisian Gauls as with Filipino *gallos* [cocks]. Then they bring them face to face, so the poor little animals know who it was picked their feathers and with whom they must fight. Their neck-feathers rise, they stare fixedly at each other, and darts of anger escape from their rounded eyes. Then the moment has come; they put them on the ground, a little apart, and leave them a clear field.

"They advance slowly. . . . They have discerned the shining blade, and the danger incites them to start toward each other, but with a step forward they stop, and with look fastened on each other lower the head and again ruffle up their feathers. . . . Then they strike together, beak against beak, breast against breast, and wing against wing; the blows have been skilfully parried, and only some feathers have fallen. They return to measure their strength again. Suddenly the white flies up, brandishing

over his opponent the deadly knife; but the red has dropped his head and bent his legs under him, and the white has only scourged the air. On touching ground, in order not to be thrust from behind, he turns rapidly and fronts his opponent. The red attacks furiously, but he defends himself with coolness. The crowd all follow tremulously and anxiously the dangerous moments of the combat, now and again letting loose an involuntary outcry. The ground is being covered with red and white feathers, but this is not a duel for first blood merely; the Filipino, following in this respect the laws laid down by the Government, wishes that it be to the death or till one turns tail first. The ground is already bathed in blood, the blows are lessening, but the victory remains undecided. At last, with a supreme effort, the white thrusts himself forward for the last blow, fastens his gaff in the wing of the red, and hooks it into him; but the white himself has been wounded in the breast, and both, drained of blood, feeble and jaded, locked to each other, remain motionless until the white falls, blood flows from his beak, he flutters agonically and dies. The red, fast by the wing, remains upright by his side, but little by little his legs bend under him and he slowly closes his eyes. The judge, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Government, declares the red winner, and savage outcries greet the decision. . . . So it is with nations; a little one which

gains a victory over a great sings it and tells it for centuries on centuries."

As in the church, and the social life which centred about it, so, too, in the cockpit, where social diversion bred social vice, we note the village aristocracy—among the men at least—touching shoulders with the masses. There are many ways in which, in the lax lassitude of these tropics, a sort of social democracy exists. Where the aristocracy is well intrenched by time-honoured customs, by the possession of property, political power, etc., there may be a considerable degree of actual democracy. Spain herself, under different climatic and industrial, but not so dissimilar social conditions, is a pattern in this respect; in a way that is not exactly Western, and which is certainly not modern democracy, Spaniards are socially very democratic. While the "old *régime*" still prevailed under Spain in the Philippines, before commerce had brought the islands and their people more fully into the currents of modern life, incipient industrialism had begun to stratify society by levelling somewhat the great gulf between top and bottom, and new political ideas had entered bringing distrust of Spain, all travellers were wont to speak of the democracy of life in this Oriental Arcadia.

To recur again to our two travellers of the middle of the last century, just on the eve of a new era in the Philippines, we find Bowring saying: "The lines of demarcation between ranks

and classes [I found] less marked and impassable than in most Oriental countries. I have seen at the same table Spaniard, *mestizo*, and Indian—priest, civilian, and soldier. No doubt a common religion forms a common bond; but to him who has observed the alienations and repulsions of *caste* in many parts of the Eastern world—caste, the great social curse—the blending and free intercourse of man with man in the Philippines is a contrast well worth admiring." And Jagor: "It would be difficult to find a colony whose native inhabitants live so completely as they please as do the Filipinos. They have adopted the religion, usages, and customs of their conquerors, from whom they are not separated by the lofty barrier which—leaving Java out of count—the disdainful British hauteur raises between Europeans and natives."

Nevertheless, we must draw a pretty sharp line between classes in the Philippines. Even in the absence of anything which may fairly be said to approximate a rule of caste, the opportunity for education, for culture (at least in manners and forms), for good food, and for even a limited intercourse with the world outside of the village, has in the past remained entirely with the aristocracy. Their industrial and political mastery we have yet to note. Socially, though they stood not so far apart, yet the potentiality for progress and advancement rested almost solely with them. They mingle with the people, and are yet not

quite of them, in part and at times because of the infiltration in their veins of the blood of the conquering race. Even where this aristocracy is purely native in stock, privilege and position set it apart from the masses, and its position is that of a master, not of a brother. Its social entertainments it copies largely from the ruling race—often an imitation that approaches near to travesty—and its social forms and diversions are less interesting and significant in proportion as they are diluted Spanish-European. Into them, as shedding light on Filipino life and character, it is hardly necessary to go, and a flood of descriptive articles in books, magazines, and newspapers has dealt with their every phase, until it would not be strange if many distant readers should have constructed, from stories of upper-class Filipino balls and banquets, besilked and bejewelled ladies, pretentious theatricals *à la espagnole*, orchestras discoursing Verdi and Bizet, and over all the borrowed circumlocutions of Spanish courtesy, a Filipino society which is really distant and separate from the lives of the people. All this is only significant to-day as the indication of what are some of the aspirations and possibilities of the Filipino who has had opportunities. The stories so popular with some hasty travellers of how the upper-class Filipino family who one day have entertained European guests at a European banquet, with European plate and wines and all the European formalities,

will the next day be found eating their rice and fish with their fingers out of a dish on the floor or on a bare table are not so much to be accepted literally as metaphorically, as indicative that there is a social veneer in the Philippines and a really Filipino society behind it all, if you can only pass the barriers and come to know it in its home. Travelling around again in our circle, we come back to the point that there is a Filipino people, and that the possibility of a democratic society lies always close at hand; the social barriers to its realisation are less obstructive than the industrial and political conditions which have prevailed down to the present.

B—The Industrial Life of the Community

First of all, and something to be borne in mine at every stage, the Philippine Islands are in the tropics. The "struggle for existence" is by this very fact shorn of the more harsh and strenuous features of human competition in less genial climes, and to that extent, if the argument from experience is valid, will tend less toward perfection. Where starvation can never be near, there is not the tendency toward individualism that has marked the modern advance of northern societies. This remains true if we disregard, for present purposes, the racial history and characteristics of the peoples of the tropics. Hence, for one thing, so far as class distinctions in the Philippines are

concerned, the holding of the masses in a sort of industrial peonage to the large proprietors cannot be so harsh as the old-time serfdom or slavery of Northern peoples, whatever may be its tendencies toward social unprogressiveness.

That the mass of the Filipinos are held virtually in peonage is here insisted upon, despite the summaries of the Census of 1903, which seem to show that the Filipinos are a nation of small landholders and of proprietors in their own right. The average size of Philippine farms is given in the census as eight and one-half acres, only one-seventeenth the size of the average farm in the United States, while in the Philippines nearly one-half of the parcels of occupied land are of less than two and one-half acres in extent, and one-fifth of them are less than one-fortieth of an acre. This last fact in itself points plainly toward the existence, in the towns and more populous *barrios*, of a large class of Filipinos who hold, as squatters or prescriptive owners, merely a little patch of ground around their cane houses, cultivating in their own right land enough only partially to supply their needs. But even for the larger percentage of Filipinos who have tracts of land which, in Japan and other countries where agriculture is intensive and the resources of irrigation are exhausted, would sustain a good-sized family, life is by no means so independent as the distant student might conclude from the data given above, coupled with the further statements

of the census that a much larger percentage of farmers own their own land in the Philippines than in the United States, that more than four-fifths of the farms of the islands are cultivated by their owners, tenants who pay in products coming next in number, while tenants who pay in cash are not comparatively numerous, though exceeding considerably those who are "labour-tenants" and those who pay no rent at all.

Figures do not lie, to be sure, and the recent census was the first ever taken in the Philippines which has any real value either for accuracy or for comprehensiveness of inquiries. But comparisons based purely on such figures are often wholly erroneous, and, to make conclusions from this census valid with regard to the Filipino peasant's relation to the land, it would be necessary to supplement it with more thorough-going inquiries into social and industrial conditions than can easily be obtained from the formal schedules of a machine-like census. In the first place, the methods of agriculture and the implements employed in the Philippines are so crude that the unit of land which avails to support a family is far beyond what it might be, especially were the knowledge of even the simpler methods of irrigation of a relatively efficient sort more generally diffused and put in practice among the people. With sixty-seven people per square mile, the Philippines exceeds the United States, with its great tracts of arid land, in density of

population, it is true; but even its most crowded portions do not equal the average density of population of Java, a kindred tropical territory, nor do they at all approach the most crowded parts of Java in density.

In general, the Philippine planter merely scratches his land with a crooked stick, sometimes shod with an iron point and occasionally not even to that extent approximating the modern plough; he plants poor seed, rotates his crops but little, and only in favoured regions or special circumstances grows a crop of two kinds during the season, or repeats his single crop, the overabundance of water during the extended rainy season threatening him with inundations at one time, while the soil becomes baked and crusted, for lack of storage systems, during the dry period. Hence, the little farm-plot which the typical Filipino may be assumed to possess or control does not entirely suffice for his needs, and its earnings must be patched out by labour on the land of larger proprietors, or by the occupation in little local industries of himself and the members of his family, especially the women, who weave and sew or embroider quite commonly. Nor is this all the story. The small landholder is not, except in rare cases, the independent proprietor whom the figures of the census seem to picture. In regard to tenure, he commonly holds under indefinite prescriptive right, and may be subject to dispossession or the encroachments of

larger landholders, of whom a very good proportion have themselves no regularly registered titles. Waiving the question of tenure, which holds possibilities of confusion and disturbance, and disregarding the probability that a very considerable proportion of those small landholders who have represented themselves as owners in this census have done so because of the common Filipino pride in land-ownership and would have difficulty in proving even titles of prescription according to legal procedure, it still remains true that these landholders themselves are in large part really but tenants. From time immemorial, the small cultivators have been dependent on the large proprietors for advances of money, or food and seed, if not of both, during the cropless season.

This system of loans, with a lien on the future crops, is but one way in which, under the Spanish *régime*, the slavery of the Filipino masses to their caciques has been continued, differing slightly in outward form, but in substance the same, as the feudal slavery which existed at the time of the Spanish conquest. The old Malay slavery originated commonly in debt, and despite the thundering of the Laws of the Indies against this slavery, and its abolishment in round terms, the obligation to serve off a debt, coupled with usury as it invariably is, is still an unwritten social law of the Philippines, binding even upon the succeeding generation. The proprietor who made the advances commonly imposed a rate of

A FILIPINO LOOM FOR WEAVING ROUGH FABRICS OF ABAKA FIBRE

interest in kind equivalent to thirty or forty per cent., in addition to which he had the percentage to be gained from the fact that he had loaned rice, for instance, in the season when it was scarcest and hence highest in price and received it back at the harvest-time, when the borrower had to pay to him not the exact amount received and the interest, but an amount equal at the current price to the amount which he had loaned. To some extent abuses of this sort have been curbed in recent years, and will continue to be curbed more and more, by the better education and growing sophistication of the labouring classes. But they are deep-rooted in the conditions of the Philippines, and the usurious proprietor is not to be condemned as entirely to blame for the practice. Its continuance has been made possible, of course, by the improvidence of the masses of labourers, who look only to the pleasures and profits of the moment, and who quite frequently squander the accumulations of their seasons of harvest in gambling.

Purposely, the charge of laziness has not been coupled with that of improvidence as lying against the Filipino. Judged by the standards of the temperate zone, he is undoubtedly lazy, and an inefficient workman when he is at work. But we have to take the Filipino just where and as we find him; and it is certainly not fair to apply to him, in his environment, where the white man himself neither can nor will labour as

at home—if indeed the white man may be said to be capable of performing manual labour at all in the tropics—the standards of a different climate and different industrial conditions. The Chinese, to be sure, may be pointed out as surpassing the Filipinos, and on their own ground; but the Chinese are also too keen competitors for the white race to endure in its own climate, as recent history shows. Assuming that the coolie system, with all that it implies of the degradation of the toiler and the female members of the lower stratum as well, and with its reservation of prosperity and pleasure only for the exploiting class above, is not the sort of thing to be desired in the Philippines from a social point of view, we must look to the Filipino alone in considering industrial conditions and possibilities in the islands. Frankly, why should he not be lazy, if by lazy we mean an aversion to toil beyond what is necessary to take the pleasure of life as it goes? Life smiles upon him, and it is worth something that he smiles back, even if indolently.

The profuse clumps of bamboo, which give him shade when he prefers to loiter or slumber beneath them, serve for an infinity of uses: "from the food that nourishes man or beast to the weapons that destroy his life; for the comforts of home; for the conveniences of travel; for the construction of bridges several hundred feet in length, over which heavy artillery can pass; for shipping and cordage; for shelter, and for dwell-

ings and domestic utensils of all sorts; for vessels of every sort to retain, and for tubes to convey, water and other fluids; for mats, palings, and scaffoldings; for musical instruments, even organs for churches; for a hundred objects of amusement. It is the raw material on which the rude artist makes his experiments — roots, trunks, branches, leaves, all are called into the field of utility. An infusion of one species of bamboo is poisonous to deer; but its leaves are eaten by horses and cattle and its young shoots as salad by man. The cane, which will support any weight that a man can carry, has an elasticity which lightens the burden of the bearer. The interior of one species gives a white substance which is used as a cure for certain diseases." Another, when smitten with the knife, gushes water that is good to drink. From its trunk, sometimes eight inches in thickness at the base and almost a hundred feet in height, the framework of the Filipino house is made and put together without nails; split into strips, it makes his floor; woven from still finer strips, it forms the walls of his house and the mat on which he sleeps; only for the roof is it necessary to turn to another plant, thatching it with the leaves of the palm in the lowlands and with the long grass of the highland regions. Bamboo fish-traps and corrals are among the chief of the infinite devices for catching the food that is always at hand in every stream and along the sea-shore. If left

entirely alone, nature would supply the native of the tropics with another chief article of diet, fruit; even where civilisation has brought private cultivation and a system of exchange, but little exertion is needed to provide him who has not his own vine and tree. Rice alone, of the staple articles of diet in the Philippines, brings home to the easy-going the truth that by the sweat of the brow shall they eat.

All these natural conditions are permanent in the Philippines, and cannot be disregarded. Yet it is possible to see that there are other circumstances which have entered into the account against the Filipino labourer as lazy and improvident, and a reasonable optimism may entertain the belief that, with altered conditions, he may become fairly industrious, that is, industrious for the tropics. He has been, in the main, hopelessly ignorant; education, even of the simplest sort, will put him less at the disposal of his industrial master and lord. His physical wants have been few, and his pleasures gross, if simple. On the spiritual side he has been stimulated mainly through his superstitions, and the priestly exactions of the past *régime*, while not great nor oppressive as a rule, have ceased to be beneficial even in the way of stimulating the peasant to labour, as that peasant has become somewhat sophisticated and inclined to shirk this burden in all ways possible. In the old atmosphere of the Philippines, it was impossible that the ordi-

CRUDE FILIPINO APPARATUS WITH WHICH ALL THE ABAKA FIBRE IS NOW STRIPPED

nary labourer would look to the future, or aim at anything more than meeting the necessities and grasping the pleasures of the moment. Unless we assume that no race indigenous to the tropics will ever advance, under any circumstances, beyond that stage, there is cause to expect that education and expanding opportunities will breed a reasonable degree of ambition.

In the last seven years the Filipino's wants have grown with rising wages, sometimes faster than the wages, which have doubled and trebled throughout the archipelago. He may incline to patent leathers, if he be a young dandy, rather than to books, to cheap watches rather than to better food; but at least, be his judgment often so deficient, he has not displayed that apathy to an improvement in his material surroundings which some have assumed in the native of the tropics. Always, the Filipino has displayed considerable application and tenacity in sticking to a job where there was a definite end or reward in sight. He will work through the hot sun to plant or gather his crops when the return therefor and the pleasures it will buy are more or less immediately in sight. In this direction, instance after instance might be cited to show that he is far from being the worthless labourer that careless writers have often pictured. He may lack in prevision for the welfare of himself and his family, or in good judgment as to the use of the fruits of his labour; but when his own interests are directly

and immediately involved, he is by no means a bad labourer, considering his surroundings and his aspirations. The horizon of his material needs cannot be expanded to include the picture of actual starvation (there are practically no downright paupers in the tropics), nor can it benefit by the stimulus of a northern winter in the near distance, with its threat of hunger and cold for himself and those near to him. But his mental horizon can be extended: he responds to the call of parental pride to some extent and will compete with his neighbour for the social status that added material comforts bring. The tropics are not the temperate zones; but "human nature," in its essential manifestations, belts the globe and ranges through all parallels.

One of the chief reasons for the dependence of the masses upon the class of more independent means, one which would still exist if the loan system and its quasi-slavery could be at one stroke wiped out, is the evil that has already been mentioned, gambling, the principal vice of the Filipinos—one might almost say their one great vice, for they are merely indifferent and lax in other respects, and are viciously intemperate only in this. However given to gambling they may have been at the time of the conquest, Spanish rule certainly did not better them in this respect. As already seen, the Government not only sanctioned, but virtually fostered, the gaming of the cockpit, and its lotteries were another

stimulus in this direction; indirectly, the theocratic rule of superstition and the perpetuation through governmental institutions of a hard and fast social and industrial rule which kept the masses down almost forcibly, much less giving them any incentive to rise, favoured the disposition to try the gamester's chance, as well as thus to improve the few opportunities there were for diversion. This is primarily a social problem, but one intimately interwoven with the question regarding possibilities of industrial progress. One of its extreme aspects, though one not very uncommon, is to be seen in the picture drawn by Rizal of the peasant mother Sisa and her unhappy little family:

"There far from the town, at about an hour's distance away, lives the mother of Basilio and Crispin, the wife of a heartless man, trying to live for her sons while the husband plays the vagabond and gambles on cock-fights. Their interviews are rare, but always distressing. He has gone on despoiling her of her few jewels to feed his vices, and when she no longer had anything to give to support the caprices of the husband, he began to abuse her. Weak in character, with more heart than brain, she knew only to love and weep. Her husband was her god; her sons, her angels. He, aware to what extent he was loved and feared, conducted himself as do all false gods; every day he became more cruel, inhumane, and selfish."

This is a picture that, in all its essential strokes, may be drawn to life not alone in the Philippines, nor in the tropics. But its frequent recurrence in Philippine society is one aspect of the gambling evil, and on another side has its connexion with the common remark that the women of the islands are superior to the men. Among the families of the upper class, the woman is not infrequently the business head of the family, and, though these may be deemed exceptional cases, yet the wife and mother is as a rule consulted on all important business as well as family matters. Without stating it as a case from which generalisations may too easily be made, it is of interest to cite a personal experience while being entertained as a guest in the splendid house of one of the largest estates in an island, noted for its large sugar plantations. The host, an unusually robust and vigorous-looking half-caste, with the education and travel which had inclined him to play the *bon vivant* and equipped him with nearly all the qualities of a good entertainer, presided at a table served and supplied in a manner which would not have done discredit to any of the world's capitals of good living. His little daughter, speaking several languages, played the hostess both at the door and at the table. If the gratified or curious guest sought for the mistress of the household, he could only find her, a plain middle-aged woman of pure native stock, in the kitchen supervising the pre-

parations for or the serving of the banquet, clad in neat but simple attire and evidently desirous of effacing herself from the notice of the guests. Yet the neighbours could inform him that she was the real manager of this estate of thousands of acres, with its steam sugar-mill, its force of privately equipped and uniformed police, and its cane-tramway, as well as of the mansion itself, with its force of servants in livery and its European furnishings and plate. The lord and master was good at after-dinner speeches, could display all the features of the estate to good advantage, and conduct all the preliminaries of its bargains, was a first-class entertainer in fact; but not a purchase was made, not a sale negotiated, not a labour question solved, without the final and effective intervention of the quiet mistress of the place. She was "the man of the house." He knew best which wines to serve with which courses, and was an adept in the old Spanish courtesies which accompany the "passing of the olive."

The women of the masses, girls as well as mothers, are in large part wage-earners, to an extent, as the recent census reveals, very much beyond that in the United States. This is not because the picture of Sisa and her family is quite typical; for, in addition to the proportion of women who are the chief or only supporters of the family, there is a much larger proportion who merely help toward the support of the family by

work not only in the fields but also in the various little domestic industries. Of these, weaving is the most general and common, the islands over. In recent years, with the greater development of foreign trade and the extension of means of communication, there has been somewhat of a tendency to specialisation, of a regional sort, in the production of fabrics. Thus, the Ilokan provinces of north-western Luzon are notable for their production of cotton cloths, mostly of a coarse but quite serviceable sort, and for some production of silk fabrics. In the southern part of Luzon and in several of the central islands, where *abaká* ("Manila hemp") is the chief product, cloths are woven of this fibre, not only for home use, but also for the markets of Manila, Sebú, Iloilo, and other parts of the archipelago reached from those distributing points. This is the *sinamai*, worn quite commonly as waists for the women and shirts for the men in all portions of the Philippines; generally a rather coarse, but a quite serviceable, fabric. It is on the island of Panai, and especially in and about Iloilo, that the choicer fabrics are mostly produced, especially the *husi*, a blend of banana fibre and silk from China, which has in large part replaced in favour the once more famous *piña*, or pineapple-fibre cloth. The distribution of these cloths from region to region marks the development, mainly in recent years, of the beginnings of an internal trade. With the improvement of communication,

however, the conclusion is inevitable that the consumption of foreign fabrics has greatly increased in the Philippines.

The native cloths above mentioned, and especially cotton goods and *sinamai*, were being produced when the Spaniards came. As Manila became the trade-depot for an exchange of goods between the continent of Asia and the Spanish possessions in America, Chinese traders flocked to that port in numbers every year, and their competition caused a decline in the Philippine cotton-weaving industry almost from the first, if we may accept the observations of the early Spanish missionaries and adventurers. But, up to the middle of the last century, the Philippines still continued to produce three-fourths of the material used by the people for clothing (according to Mas, Mallat, and other contemporary observers). Cheap cottons from Germany and England have greatly invaded this market since the opening of the Suez Canal. Nevertheless, the crude looms of the Filipino household still remain a most important factor in the industrial life of the archipelago. Sewing and embroidery also, of course, hold an important place in the industry of the women. The weaving from various fibres and from rattan of mats, hats, cigar-cases, making of ropes, etc., are all important little industries, wherein the lover and patron of handwork may find much that is both significant and pleasing. There is a tendency to

specialisation in this respect, certain towns being notable for certain productions.

Wood-carving follows the same course, and one or two towns in Bulakan province north of Manila, close to the forests with their supplies of splendid hard woods, have in times past been famous for their cabinet-work and carving of furniture and house-exteriors. It is only in such special branches, which of late have had to meet the competition of cheap imported furniture, but which may still have a future with a properly led revival of interest in the arts and crafts, that carpentry and its kindred trades may be said to have been much developed in the Philippines.[1] Where the bamboo house is the rule for the masses, every man is more or less his own carpenter, and the business of building stone and wood houses has been largely left, especially in the towns of size, to Chinese carpenters and

[1] Sculpture and painting fall rather with the industries than with the "fine arts" in the Philippines; for, as in music, there is as yet only imitation of European patterns. Still, it is at least significant that even the rude house painter seeks to cover your walls with decorations of a pretentious, and, as he thinks, most pleasing sort, and that almost untutored workmen will carve from a pattern wood ornaments befitting a church, or chisel a mortuary tablet in stone that is more than passable. The more pretentious efforts in recent years of Filipinos having some education in art merit no little attention, particularly the paintings of Juan Luna and Resurrección Hidalgo.

A NATIVE PLOUGHING FOR RICE WITH CARABAO (WATER BUFFALO). THE PLOUGH IS A STICK SHOD WITH AN IRON POINT

masons. Shipbuilding, to which the Spaniards gave a great stimulus in the early years following their conquest, when they used the Philippines as a fitting-out place for efforts against the Dutch in the Spice Islands, is an industry well worthy the attention of the observer, who may find in the results achieved by following very crude and old-fashioned methods, except in one or two larger shipyards, the promise of notable achievement. The lumber industry, it is to be remembered, despite all the riches of the great virgin forests, is but in its infancy, and Manila is to-day so poorly supplied with native lumber that for any public works demanding haste there is a call upon the ports of our own Pacific North-west.

The local blacksmith and bolo-maker, as he generally is (for the bolo is the chief working implement of the Filipino in the thicket or the field or about the house, as well as being, in another form, his principal weapon), is but a crude worker in soft imported iron. The iron deposits of Bulakan province, which were being used to a slight extent when the Spaniards arrived, have never in all the years since received any real development, and are of use only to supply, in a limited degree in that vicinity, a workable iron that is preferred for plough-points and some other uses. In Manila there are several foundries, and in the provinces where steam mills have followed the development in recent years of sugar and rice plantations employing

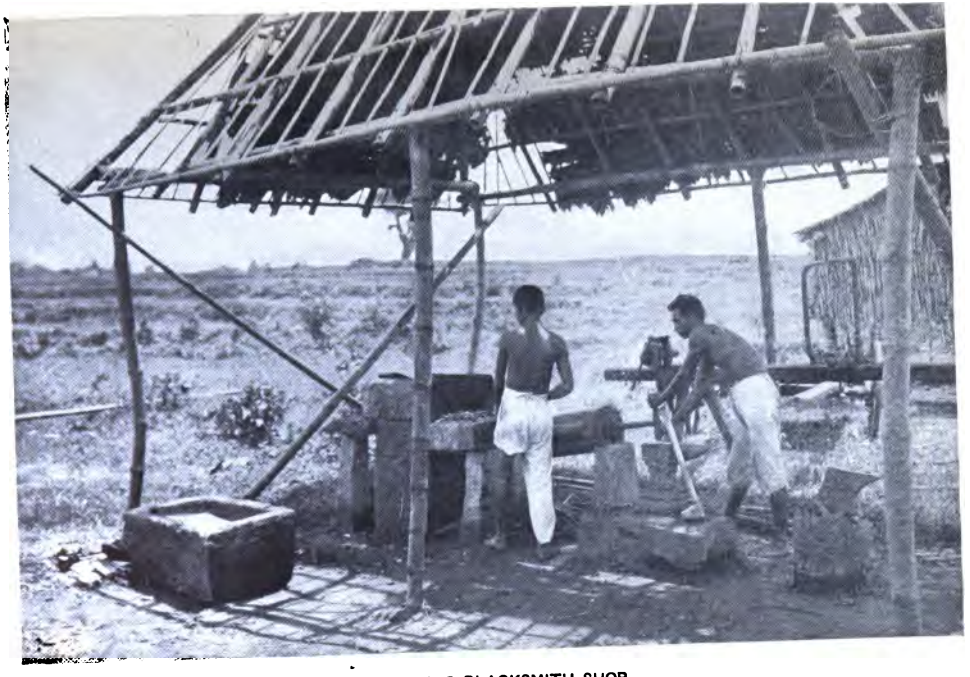
more modern, but still crude, methods, there will be found an occasional machine-shop, whose proprietor is a bright Filipino of the growing middle class. Pottery of the simplest sort, but often of rather pleasing designs, is made almost everywhere for local use, and here and there a little brick industry has developed. In the cities and towns, the industry of making shoes after the European style and slippers of the heelless Filipino sort is of some importance; but the work in leather is done more by Chinese than by Filipinos. The harnesses, like the shoes made in the islands, are of poor Chinese leather. Carriage-building yields good returns to a few proprietors and workmen in all the larger towns, but drains the pocket-book of the purchaser for a defective article that is much of the time in the repair shop and must at an early date be consigned to the junk-heap.

The making of alcohol and alcoholic beverages from the *nipa* and cocoanut palms is an industry quite commonly pursued for local consumption in the archipelago as a whole, and there are provinces where it ranks in whole sections as altogether the most important industry. There are still many small producers for the home and outside markets, though the tendency in recent years has been toward the concentration of the industry in large distilleries. Since the old Spanish governmental monopoly of tobacco lasted much longer than did that of alcoholic products, down

to 1884 in fact, the transition to the factory stage in products of tobacco has been effected, in these recent years of industrial development in the Philippines, more rapidly and completely than with alcoholic products. Tobacco is also a product confined more strictly to certain regions, notably the Kagayan valley of north-eastern Luzon. In other parts, with the exception of a few districts of limited importance, it is grown rather for local consumption. The large factories for the making of cigars and cigarettes are all in Manila, where some thousands of men, women, and children are employed in them. In the Kagayan valley itself, and in the other districts where tobacco is grown, the people roll their own cigars and to a large extent make their own cigarettes.

In the days of the monopoly, the Government dealt with the small producer of tobacco, and required that each inhabitant should plant at least so much of this crop. Despite the tendency toward large plantations since the monopoly was abolished, the crop is still mainly produced by the small planter, who is, however, in the Kagayan valley at least, no more independent of the large companies owning estates themselves and buying his tobacco than is the small landholder who is dependent on the large proprietors in other parts of the archipelago. It is very much a question whether tropical agriculture, in order to be most progressive and to get the most out of the

soil, does not require the operation of large estates. This is more palpably true of certain crops than of others, of which tobacco would seem to be one, while sugar, once held as the most important of the exported products of the Philippines, is another. Sugar has in recent years fallen, along with tobacco, to a position very much secondary in importance as a Philippine export to hemp. The *abaká* is one of the crops in which it may be said that conditions are favourable to the small producer; and yet, even here, there is no question but that the product would be improved in the hands of intelligent overseers of large plantations, with a better choice of plants and soil, more careful use and nourishment of the soil, and, most of all, the exercise of greater care and better methods in the stripping of the fibre. The carelessness in these respects, and not infrequently the deliberate mixing of inferior hemp with the superior grades, have given the Philippine product a bad name of late, and set the fibre manufacturers of the world to cultivating other markets, the products of which are naturally not equal to the Philippine fibre. Rice, grown so largely as a food-product for home consumption (and of late not in sufficient amount for the home market), is another crop wherein the small farmer has thus far had the field mostly to himself. Once again, it is a question if the true economic development of the islands will not favour concentration of land and



A FILIPINO BLACKSMITH SHOP

supervision in the production of this plant. Copra, too, the dried cocoanut, the exportation of which, especially to the oil factories of France, has been growing quite notably in recent years, is a line of production in which the tendency will be toward larger holdings. The same is true of coffee, cacao, and indigo, for the present of little importance, if the Philippines are once more to assume importance as producers of these crops, which have lost their former status as Philippine exports largely through defective methods of cultivation and through adulteration, coupled, in the case of coffee, with the ravages of an insect-pest. Corn is a product which may be much more generally and extensively cultivated for home consumption, relieving the islands of the necessity of importing rice while turning to more profitable crops, and at the same time affording the advantage of a greater diversity of diet. It alternates with tobacco in the Kagayan valley, being there the chief vegetable food.

It seems quite probable, therefore, that the economic tendencies in the Philippines have for some time been, and will in the future be, in the direction of large estates. As already shown, the Filipinos, even if the census indicates them to be a nation of small landholders, are at any rate not a nation of independent small farmers. Under the present government, with the right to homestead forty acres of land from the government domain, and the right to establish legal

title to land held by prescription according to an easy procedure (though one quite beyond the scope of understanding of the peasant of to-day, unless aided), there is at least full opportunity for the masses to establish themselves as independent freeholders. As primary education is diffused, the tendency in this direction will be aided. There comes in to aid this tendency the traditional fondness of the Filipino for the soil on which his family has in previous years maintained itself, his liking for feeling himself to be an independent proprietor if in fact he is not economically independent, and the jealousy of the Filipino masses, as well as the upper class, toward the entrance of outsiders as landholders. On the whole, even if these things tend to restrict agricultural progress, they are encouraging signs. It is far from safe to predict that the Filipinos will not remain under the new *régime* a people of peasant proprietors. But if they do, it must be by virtue of the more general spread of intelligence and by a display of individualism un-Oriental in degree and kind. The old sort of economic slavery cannot long prevail under the old forms, which are breaking down. Whether the Filipinos as a race are fit to resist the riveting upon them of a new economic slavery, more beneficent in its workings but also more complete in its scope, is for themselves to show.

As already seen, the waters yield the Filipinos food scarcely less than the land. Except in the

IGOROTES PLANTING RICE

few interior districts that are away from the rivers, mostly inhabited by savages or uninhabited, every Filipino is more or less of a fisherman. It is, however, also a regular calling, as the multiplication of varieties of fish-nets, traps, corrals, etc., would indicate. The ingenuity displayed in these devices, and generally the industry displayed by the fisherman during his hours of labour, are not compatible with a description of the Filipinos as "lazy and incompetent." In some of the waters of the archipelago, fishing for pearls and the gathering of slugs, shells, etc., constitute small export industries.

There remains to be treated the third important aspect of the life of the Filipino community, viz., the political. This has two phases, the old and the new, and is so intimately related with other features of Filipino life that it is left to be brought out in connexion therewith. In particular, it is inter-related with the theocratic rule of the past in the islands, with the question of education, and with the existence of classes. Against this last question we have brought up at every stage in the discussion of social and industrial conditions in the Philippines, and it is left for special treatment in the chapter on Caciquism, or bossism. Under that head properly falls the exposition of the political life of the Filipino community, past and present.

CHAPTER IV

MANILA AND OTHER CITY DWELLERS

OF city life, as distinguished from village life, there is comparatively little in the Philippine Islands. Manila furnishes practically the only instance of it, and the other ports and cities wherein, industrially or socially, there is some approximation to the conditions of the metropolis, are yet in the main merely overgrown towns of the sort already described. Manila alone may be said to be a fairly distinctive community.

Nevertheless, in spite of the centering in Manila Bay and at the mouth of the Pasig of nearly all foreign trade since the first few years following the settlement there of the Spaniards in 1572, of the existence there since that date of a government maintained and controlled by foreigners and men of another race, and of the growth, mainly in recent years, of industrial enterprises of a modern type, Manila itself is, after all, quite typically Filipino. The effort to draw a distinction between the simple, humble,

A FILIPINO HOME INDUSTRY—MAKING STARCH FROM RICE

and well-disposed native of the rural districts and the Manila native, with his greater degree of sophistication and his probably lesser degree of morality, is, to a considerable extent, artificial. One must not judge the Filipino and his present status entirely by the most advanced types of Manila, nor condemn the Filipino of the provinces for the city-acquired assertiveness and unreliability of the Manila coachmen or house-servants, who may exasperate the foreign visitor to the capital of the archipelago. But the picture often painted of a corrupt and degenerate native population in the city is largely the fancy of certain writers who, having had more or less opportunity to deal on the ground with the ruder but more docile native of the provinces, have magnified ignorance and submissiveness into the chief virtues of the Filipino. On the other side of the picture, we have in the city-dweller in general a rather more energetic workman, whom new wants have somewhat stimulated, a better-educated citizen as a rule, and one better capable of standing upon his rights, while it is at least very doubtful if he is, as a rule, perceptibly more addicted to vices of any sort. This is the Filipino of the lower class, who constitutes the mass of the population of Manila. Naturally, city life in itself, and the industrial development of recent years, have called into existence a middle class of which the provincial towns are for the most part devoid, and a larger proportion of

upper class Filipinos possessing education and property—classes which merit consideration somewhat apart, but are not typical of the population either of the archipelago as a whole or of the city itself.

Manila is, though mainly a Tagalog city, as lying in the heart of the Tagalog provinces which skirt the Bay of Manila and surround the Laguna de Bay, nevertheless to a considerable degree the meeting-place of others of the civilised tribes. Some Pampangans and Bikols come there, and above all the Ilokans of north-west Luzon, who are almost the only Filipinos showing much disposition to migrate in search of self-betterment, and who are commonly house-servants in Manila. Few Bisayans come, except as they are sailors moving back and forth on the inter-island boats. The infusion of other tribal elements into the population of Manila has been going on ever since the Spaniards made this their chief post in the archipelago, and has resulted, among the masses, in some corruption of the Tagalog speech, which, mixed with Spanish, and more recently English, phrases of bad form and pronunciation, also with some little Chinese, constitutes a sort of Manila *patois*. Nevetheless, Tagalog may be said to be the speech of the native element of Manila, and it would require some care to pick out among the masses the non-Tagalog racial elements other than European or Chinese. The number of Chinese in Manila at the beginning of American

rule has been greatly over-estimated, as has the number of Chinese of pure blood throughout the archipelago. The Census of 1903 showed only 21,000 Chinese in Manila, and somewhat more than 41,000 in all the islands. As already stated, the intermixture of Chinese blood with Filipino has been much more general in Manila than anywhere else; but these half-castes are almost always brought up as Filipinos, and regard themselves as Filipinos, whether belonging to the merchant class or down in the lower circles of the population.

Chinese coolies, obviously, cannot do all the hard labour in and about the capital, especially since the Chinese in the Philippines, as they have done from time immemorial, seek to abandon agricultural or contract labour as soon as possible and to set themselves up as small retailers. The small stores of the business streets of the city wherein the masses do their trading in clothing, etc., as well as the little stalls selling food supplies in the residence districts of Manila, are mainly in the hands of Chinese. The assertion of investigators who have followed the development of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, and of other quite new colonies wherein Chinese have been admitted to develop mines or construct public works, that the Malay will not do the necessary hard work, and that he is really better served by letting Chinese in to bring about industrial development, whereby he

may take up only the lighter and easier forms of employment, is simply not borne out by the facts of the history of Manila or any other part of the Philippines. There is an evident fondness on the part of the Filipinos for housework, driving carriages for hire, and the easier government employments of one sort and another. The proportion of house-servants and coachmen among the men, and of laundry and needle workers among the women, is large in Manila. But the proportion of day-labourers in and about the river and bay, of fishermen, and of cultivators of fruits and vegetables in the city's suburbs and environs, is much greater than the advocates of the admission of coolie labour would admit. That private contractors should desire to secure coolie labourers, whom they can import under contract, holding them to their labour by the aid of law and authority, and herding them together as suits their purpose in executing a contract, is not strange.

It is true also that the comparative success attained by the Government in the employment of large numbers of Filipino labourers on the extensive new harbour works of Manila, under the army quartermaster department, and as day-labourers in one or other branch of the civil government's activities, has been in part secured through the paying by the Government of a high rate of wages; but it is not less true that it has been brought about also by consulting the tastes

A CANAL-BOAT OF MANILA

and dispositions of the native workmen, by securing so far as possible foremen and overseers with some tact and forbearance, and by building for the workmen their little settlements wherein the families could live, supplying them with the traditional amusements, etc. Disregarding entirely the activities of the Government as an employer of unskilled labour, it is quite certain that the work of Manila could not go on for a single day without the aid of large numbers of native workmen who perform relatively hard tasks for the tropics. The native workman of Manila is by no means purely an ornamental workman, of the sort which some observers say the Malays elsewhere are fitted alone to be.

Aside from the trade and transportation activities of the capital, on river and bay, in the streets and at the terminus of the only railroad line the archipelago at present has, a large part of the work performed in connection with manufacturing industries in the city is unskilled labour. Except in the typographical industry, there are comparatively few Filipinos in Manila who might be called skilled artisans outside of the tobacco factories. Some house-decorators there are, but the carpenters and masons are more commonly Chinese than Filipinos; carriage-making, cabinet-making, and working in iron are not relatively great industries. The artisans there are: the railroad employees above the rank of burden-bearers or unskilled labourers of various sorts,

it does not rule anywhere, in "society" matters; but the middle-class Filipino who gets education is in position to get most of the other things he wants. We are not concerned with the informal affairs in which Americans and other foreigners in Manila betray a tendency quietly to "draw the colour line," as that is not properly Manila life, but only a superficial phase of it.

Of that social line across which Spaniards and Filipinos mingled in former days we get some vivid glimpses in the chapters of Rizal's two novels, which are photographic in their reproductions of the Philippines as they were twenty years ago, and as they remain in large part to-day. Nowhere else are Philippine life and conditions so revealed, and it is a great pity that there has as yet been no English translation even remotely approaching a fair representation of *Noli Me Tangere* to American readers, while *El Filibusterismo*, which is the stronger and maturer work of the two as a piece of political writing, has not been given an English version at all. It is in the latter novel, in the chapter which presents to us "The Mover of Projects," Don Custodio de Salazar y Sanchez de Monteredondo, a Spaniard who has married into Filipino aristocracy and become a man of prominence in Manila, that we have side lights thrown upon the social and political *régime* of Manila in former times. Incidentally, we get some ideas as to the school in which the Filipino *prominente* of to-day has

been trained. Our Don Custodio of the accumulated titles

" . . . had come to Manila very young, with a good political appointment which made it possible for him to marry a fair *mestiza* belonging to one of the richest families of the city. As he had natural talent, enterprise, and considerable adroitness, he knew well how to profit by the society in which he found himself, and with his wife's money devoted himself to business undertakings, to contracts with the Government and with the Municipality, on which account they made him councillor, then mayor, member of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country, member of the Council of Administration, president of the Board of Administration of Pious Works, member of the Board of Charity, director of the Spanish-Filipino Bank, etc., etc. And do not imagine that these *etceteras* are like those customarily put after a long list of titles: Don Custodio, without ever having seen a treatise on hygiene, rose to be even the vice-president of the Manila Board of Health, it being true also that of the eight members of this board only one had to be a physician, which one could not be he, of course. So, too, he was a member of the Central Board of Vaccination, composed of three physicians and seven laymen, among them the archbishop and three provincials of religious orders. He was a brother of religious fraternities and arch-fraternities, and,

as we have seen, chairman ['moving member'] of the Superior Committee of Primary Instruction, which does not perform any functions. All these were reasons more than sufficient to make the newspapers of Manila surround him with adjectives when he journeyed, as well as when he sneezed.

"In spite of so many offices, Don Custodio was not one of those who are content to sleep in the sessions and vote with the majority. . . . In Manila they still remember a speech of his at the time when it was proposed to substitute lighting by petroleum for the old cocoanut-oil; he set himself against this, with all the echoes of his vocal cavity, declaring the project premature and prophesying great social cataclysms. . . ."

Don Custodio went back to Spain, but, finding himself in Madrid only a small toad in a big puddle, he came back before he was cured of the ailment for which he went, having turned Liberal because the Conservatives, then in power, paid no attention to him. But he came back charged with anecdotes revealing his intimacy with the powers of the Cortes, and so enthusiastic was he that "his fellow-guests of the grocery which he frequented for conversation affiliated themselves also with the Liberal party, and henceforth Liberals were Don Eulogio Badana the retired sergeant of carbineers, honest Armendia the pilot and furious Carlist, Don Eusebio Picotes the cus-

toms inpector, and Don Bonifacio Tacon the shoemaker."

" . . . As Don Custodio now prided himself on being a Liberal, when asked what he thought of the natives he was wont to say, as one who confers a great favour, that they were apt for mechanical labours and *imitative arts* (his meaning being music, painting, and sculpture), and added his threadbare little appendix to the effect that, in order to know them, one must have been many, many years in the islands. However, if he heard of one who excelled in anything that was not mechanical labour or *imitative art*, he would say, drawing out his words in emphasis: 'Psh! He gives promise. He is no fool.' And he would be sure that a good deal of Spanish blood must run in the veins of such an Indian, and if he could not find it in spite of all his good will to do so, he would then search for a Japanese origin—it was at the time when the fashion began of attributing to Japanese and Arabians all the good the Filipinos evinced possession of. . . ."

Don Custodio plans great reforms, in order to "liberalise" his chosen field, the Philippines. Hearing of the new wood pavements in Paris, he proposes to lay planks, nailed together as in a house, in Manila. As a member of the Board of Health, he thought a thorough campaign of fumigation should be inaugurated, even to the telegrams from infected places. We find him, at an

important stage of the story, vacillating before the case containing his accumulation of "projects."

" . . . For the moment he forgot his debts and the pirouettes of the dancing-girl Pepay, to reflect that all that was contained on those shelves had emerged from his fecund brain in moments of inspiration! How many original ideas, how many sublime thoughts, how many measures of salvation for the misery of the Philippines! Immortality and the gratitude of the country, these were firmly gained for him!

"Like an old coxcomb finding a mouldy packet of love-letters, Don Custodio arose and went to the case. The first note-book, fat, inflated, and plethoric, bore as its title 'Projects in Project.'

"'No,' he murmured. 'There are excellent things there, but it would take a year to read them over.'

"The second book, also voluminous enough, was entitled 'Projects in Course of Study.' Not that, either!

"Then came 'Projects in Maturity,' 'Projects Presented,' 'Projects Rejected,' 'Projects Approved,' and 'Projects Suspended.' These last contained very little, but the last book of all contained the very least, and that was the one entitled, 'Projects Being Carried Out.'"

Aside from the sly thrusts at the impracticable and generally unrealised projects for Philippine reform of the Liberals of Spain, this picture sheds

light upon the origin of certain of the purely Filipino types of Manila to-day. That it is not essentially an exaggeration will be testified by those who have met certain Filipino Don Custodios, with their "projects in project."

The Government of Manila is in certain respects exceptional. Under the Spanish *régime*, it was modelled on that of cities in Spain, with the traditional *ayuntamiento*, or municipal corporation, in which only Spanish officials of government, certain of the more prominent Spanish merchants of the community, and a few of the pro-Spanish half-caste families had any real part, aside from the petty governors of the native and Chinese wards and suburbs. Owing to its mixed population, and to the large extent to which the affairs of the entire archipelago, political as well as commercial, centre in Manila, a purely popular government is not possible or desirable, and the present organisation of the city is based on a similar principle to that of the city of Washington, the insular government paying one-third of the expenses of the Manila Government. The Filipinos have representation on the Municipal Board of seven members, which is a combined executive and legislative body, and there have been appointed Filipinos of each district of the city to form an Advisory Council, which submits recommendations to the Municipal Board. So far this council has chiefly concerned itself (or, at any rate, its "Don Custodios" have chiefly

concerned themselves) with such measures as the renaming of certain of the principal thoroughfares of the city after Filipinos who formerly figured in the reform propaganda; but the council has also in some ways displayed tendencies toward efficiency in hitherto untried problems of administration of a more serious character, and, best of all, has begun to display some independence and vigour in expressing the popular feeling on measures of local government. Its members are not all Don Custodios, and their projects are not all such as must remain "in project."

In educational institutions, periodicals, political thought, and in intellectual activities of all kinds, Manila was pre-eminently the centre in Spanish times; sometimes, indeed, represented the sum total of such activities for the entire archipelago. This has become less true in the past few years, especially in matters of education. It is still, however, so largely the case that, to avoid repetition, we may relegate these topics to their special chapters. One of the most notable things about the city is the lack of libraries, private as well as public. Several little circulating libraries have been established since American rule began, one of which has some government support; but they are resorted to mainly by American readers, and were founded primarily for them, especially soldiers. It is, of course, understood that there are libraries and archives connected with the convents which are the centres of the religious orders

established in the archipelago; but these have always been quite the reverse of public libraries, though some of the books in the Jesuit college have been available to students.

The two museums, of which that of the Jesuits, faulty as it was, was much the better, have in former times done little to supply the lack of such public institutions of this sort as one associates with a metropolis. The bookstores and newsstands of Manila have taken on quite a new aspect of activity since 1898. The old religio-political censorship of the former *régime* was generally exercised so as to keep the few Filipino readers of inquiring minds, so far as possible, from excursions into the bibliography of modern thought, scientific, religious, philosophical, or political. The quite general lack of a library, or even anything that might be dignified by the title collection of books, even in the Filipino houses of the better sort, is still a thing that cannot escape the attention of the observant stranger. In former times, he who had but a small case of books of more or less mystifying titles might readily pass for a *savant*, though of course there were a few Filipinos following the legal career who had rather good libraries of civil law, and there were also two or three reasonably good general libraries and one notable private collection of Philippina. Now, many of the younger Filipinos of means who have been seized with the political unrest of the times are quite diligent

buyers of books, though imbibing their ideas of sociology, political economy, and other of the new sciences which are most attractive to them mainly through bad Spanish translations.

Freedom to form associations, not secret or subversive of order, is being availed of to-day, in a way that is often bewildering—one suspects—quite as much to many of the whilom members as to the outside observer himself. Not alone have the Filipinos their own new social clubs, both of an unpretentious and sometimes obscure sort, but they have associations for the study and reform of Tagalog spelling and vocabulary, co-operative labour unions which are thus far mainly political in their objects (at least, so far as their chief organisers are concerned), and out-and-out political parties, only one of which has shown any cohesion thus far. "Association" is a magic word in the Philippines at present, and, though accompanied more by rhetoric than by any clear conception of objects in view, it is at least an interesting phenomenon of the times. The various working men's societies organised in the past few years were the conception of certain cheap demagogues, eager to encounter a means for continuing to figure before the public; they have no real political significance beyond the fact that these leaders drew in with them some young men of comparatively good education but limited experience whose opposition to the existing Government is not demagogic, consciously at least. That

AN AMERICAN TROLLEY IN PRINCIPAL STREET OF MANILA. (NEW LINE INAUGURATED APRIL, 1905)

these organisations may be made vehicles for doing mischief has already been indicated by some of the incidents which have occurred since 1902. From certain standpoints, it is also regrettable that the labour-union idea should have been thus prematurely introduced into the Philippines, where the most urgent need is for a sound conception of the worth of work in itself alone. Still, though the groundlings of these societies may so easily be led astray by false leaders, the harm that is done is very likely more than neutralised by the good, and the movement may, indeed must, properly be left to work itself out. Certain restless Filipinos have a new toy upon which to lavish their attentions, and the men of sense may be left to learn the uselessness of certain things upon which just now they lay great stress; meanwhile, the real workmen who contribute their *obols* get some pleasure out of gatherings which are, for them, mainly important on their social side.

For the lower classes of Manila have not in past times had very much advantage over the peasantry of the rural towns in the matter of diversions. In a city, there is inevitably more life and movement, more material for petty gossip, than in a rural community. But the average lower-class native of Manila has, with the added variety of life, much the same diversions as he of the rural community. Foremost has been the cock-fight, which is now forbidden in Manila itself, but available as a Sunday and holiday

spectacle for the Manila devotee who wishes to enter his favourite bird or wager his little savings in one of the adjoining towns outside of the city limits (these towns, like all in the islands, being allowed to license cockpits for holidays, if the municipal councils so decide; the Central Government leaves the matter for the Filipinos to thresh out by themselves). He can be a humble spectator at the race-track or the theatres where the middle and upper classes throng. But he is not given to going far afield, or to displaying great ingenuity or energy in inventing or seeking pastimes. Along the river and on the bay, the lazily moving life of varied sorts is in itself a diversion for him, and for his wife and children too, if they live on one of the river and bay craft. In the streets, narrow and crowded with the multitude of indispensable vehicles for transportation (now in part being displaced by the new electric street railway), the Chinese burden-bearers, the itinerant vendors and corner-stands, there is always enough to afford an hour's, or a day's, amused diversion for the man or woman upon whom the need for the next meal is not pressing. With money in pocket, a visit to a Chinese small retailer's shop and the examining of things wanted and not wanted and the haggling over prices are always things worth putting a day apart to do.

In large part, all classes of Manila society meet, though they do not exactly mingle, in their diversions. In the theatres, one may see

the native drama, which is but an imitation of the European, of late running to political meanings in the theatres patronised chiefly by the middle class. Some cheap variety troupe, wandering through the Orient from Europe or Australia, is always present in one or more of the theatres. Third-rate Spanish actors come out and join the most aspiring home talent in putting on the Spanish pieces of a more pretentious nature which are undertaken. As with music, one has to overlook much and to think rather of the ambitiousness of the native actors and musicians than of the actual merits of their performances. With no standards for comparative criticism, and having in mind the training that has been received, the significant thing is not that good pieces, dramatic and musical, are badly, often very badly, rendered, but rather that they are attempted at all, that there should be this striving after the best in art. Filipino music has received extravagantly favourable criticism from unduly surprised visitors as well as unduly harsh criticism from those who had adopted an unreasonable standard of comparison; but it may be said that there is a purely Filipino orchestra in Manila, composed of some seventy-five pieces, which, with comparatively poor instruments and little training, reaches a very meritorious standard of excellence, no matter how judged. Both under Spanish and American rule, there have been Filipino bands which, under good leadership, have done notably

well. The rich in their carriages, and the poor who can hire a *carromato* or who live close enough to bring them out on foot, throng the Luneta, as the promenade on the bay front is known, each night at the sunset hour. The band or bands play for an hour or two, the people promenade or drive in ever-moving throngs, and gossip, both high and low estate, in the pleasant coolness of the land-breeze that comes up with the fading of the sun, which night after night will sink over Mount Mariveles at the entrance to the spacious bay amid a glare of colour and splendour that has made Manila famous for its gorgeous sunsets.

Of aquatic sports, except the bathing for cleanliness, there is practically nothing. One may suppose that, under American guidance, something of this sort will surely be introduced. Athletics, except for fencing-clubs for the young *élite* and an occasional tiny "gymnasium" wherein only the fancy tricks of horizontal and parallel bars, rings, etc., were indulged in, were practically unknown in former days. The boys of the Jesuits' and friars' schools, the favoured young of the city, would parade decorously, in uniform of sombre colour, at the hour of the Luneta promenade, walking awkwardly as if to emphasise their puniness of chest, herded in stiff files with gowned mentors ahead and behind. The children of the multitude might play their mild little games, with little exercise in them,

much as do the boys in the villages of the Philippines, in street or yard. Baseball is now taking a hold among the scholars of the public schools, and, through rivalry, in some of the private schools, and *mag besbol* is a new addition to the Tagalog vocabulary, to express the American "play baseball." Among the elders of the *élite*, a gun-club has taken on new life. Along with the present plans for the beautification of Manila, involving the levelling in large part of the picturesque old walls of the Spanish town, the filling in of the pestiferous moats with their putrefying vegetation, and the turning of the land thus gained and of the big tract of outlying land into great driveways, a botanical garden more worthy of the name than that hitherto maintained, and the making of a large bayside park, it is to be expected that the large field called "Bagumbayan" (significantly, "New People") upon which Rizal and other Filipinos faced Spanish rifles, will become in part a public playground. This is one of the measures which may make for a fuller-chested generation of Filipinos, through helping to keep Filipino children from becoming in their pastimes like men and women long before they are out of their teens. Doubtless, however, those who have discovered what are the limits fixed by Providence to the capacities of tropical peoples will regard it as impossible that they should add one cubit to their stature or deepen their chest-capacity.

For high and low, the horse-races are more gambling "merry-go-rounds" than exhibitions to which the term "sport" properly applies. Manila is at least no less given over to gambling than the provincial communities. For the poor, there are strict police ordinances forbidding the games of cards played only because of the gambling features; but the inhabitants of the stone houses with polished floors can more easily evade police regulations, and more than one such house is the regular meeting-place of the venturers at cards, women especially, both of middle age and well along in life, making cards their chief pastime, or, one might say, their occupation. Even the *siesta* hour is sometimes invaded by the devotees in their eagerness, though stores will close, shutters be put up, and Manila retires from the midday sun, till the simile of Sunday in a New England town comes to mind.

Manila, the walled town, is half a cloister, with its cathedral, archbishop's palace, great convents, and churches of the religious orders, male and female. How large a hold the church still has upon the people, we have yet to see. It is sure, however, that there is a great difference between now and then, as regards the superficial phases of the church's predominance in Manila life. The bells from a score of towers make the day clangorously hideous and the early morning an irritation to the stranger, if the Angelus bells of evening do come to him more pleasantly across

the walls and from the suburbs when he is on the Luneta at evening. The gorgeously tinselled religious processions are still celebrated in the crowded streets of the walled town, perhaps completely interrupting ordinary traffic at times, though they have lost the official participation which once gave them added significance. A few at a time, however, the round-hatted friars have been going, and their white or black robes are now more of a curiosity on the Luneta promenade. No longer are banks, business houses, and schools closed for some sixty or seventy religious festivals during the year, besides Sundays. The tone of Manila life, political and social, is no longer semi-ecclesiastical.

Iloilo and Sebú, the chief ports of the central islands, have become in recent years small reproductions of the metropolis in its principal features. With the improvement in inter-island communication, their growth will be accelerated, and their relative importance enhanced. So, too, there are possibilities of other new ports of importance, among them Samboanga on the south-western end of Mindanao, Takloban on the strait between the half-developed islands of Sámar and Leite, Legaspi, the chief hemp port of southern Luzon, and Aparri at the mouth of the Kagayan river and the tobacco valley of north-eastern Luzon. An instance of how towns may be developed by improvement of interior communication is the rise

to importance in recent years of Dagupan, at the terminus of the only railroad the Philippines have had. Other towns which attained to an importance beyond that of the regulation village, or somewhat more pretentious town which contained the provincial capital and its offices, were under the Spanish *régime* those which were made ecclesiastical centres, with convents of friars and the accompanying secondary schools and seminaries for native priests, such as Bigan, in north-western Luzon, and Nueva Cáceres, in south-eastern Luzon, both old Spanish settlements and the seats of episcopal sees. In the future, commercial location will be almost the sole factor in the development of whatever cities may grow more nearly to rival Manila than do even Iloilo and Sebú to-day.

CHAPTER V

FILIPINO RELIGION AND THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION

UNDER this head, until but a short while ago, one might write all that needs to be written of Filipino life. Essentially, the Philippines were a spiritual colony of Spain, and it was in this respect that in the earlier years Spain did the greatest good, while by clinging to mediævalism in recent years the colony was lost, however much we may estimate the importance, as contributory to this outcome, of a defective and backward economic policy.

It is wrong to say, as is so often said or implied, that Spain discovered and afterward maintained her Philippine colony entirely for the purpose of converting lost souls to Christianity. Commercial aims, and above all the political ambitions of an age of discovery abroad and of a period of internal strife in Europe, played a large part in this national enterprise of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the argument unfailingly presented by kings and councils of state, the justification for clinging to an enterprise at first

costly, the aims of Spanish dominion as put forth in the Laws of the Indies, all centre chiefly about the duty of the Spanish Crown, as the new crusader of God's Vicar at Rome, to convert the peoples who were following darkly "the ways of the devil." It was an ideal in keeping with Spanish *hidalguía* in profane matters, an ideal which, if only partially realised, yet sheds glory not only upon the missionaries who were its agents but also upon the Government which sustained their efforts, and which softens harsh judgments upon a colonial *régime* which was a failure and yet was to some extent unique in its aims.

The ease of Spanish military conquest in the Philippines compels the conclusion that the Filipinos were a comparatively docile, submissive people, whose tribal divisions also, of course, aided in the quite bloodless establishment of Spanish dominion. The religious conquest would seem to have been no less simple. Without dallying with the fantastic drama of a few Filipino "scholars" of recent years who have reconstructed an ideal religion among the Filipinos at the time of the conquest, and have made the more or less mythical god *Batala* the centre of an indigenously developed Christianity, we may almost regard it as authentic that the Filipinos had somewhat hazily attained the conception of a Supreme Being, even though their religious notions were overlaid with spiritism and cor-

rupted with gross and material practices. Their preparedness for some higher form of religious conception cannot be better indicated than in the readiness with which they turned in those early years either to Mohammedanism or to Christianity. It was not altogether that they were impressed by the striking garb of the friars and the mystic ceremonial of the new religion; without some fitness for more advanced conceptions, the prestige of the priests and the military power behind them could not have brought about conversions *en masse*, even though the native chieftains usually led the way.

For the first century following Legaspi's permanent settlement in 1565, during which whole communities were converted at a time, missionaries were not on hand in sufficient numbers to minister to the but crudely catechised communicants of the new faith. By the end of the seventeenth century, the limits of Christian settlements within the archipelago had been outlined as they have remained ever since, except for occasional incursions into the territory of Mohammedans or pagans or the occupation of uninhabited regions; since that time, the increase in the number of Christians throughout the archipelago has been mainly the increase of population in the settled lowlands. By special dispensation, the missionary fathers, regular clergymen, were at first allowed to minister as seculars, or priests, to the settlements of converts which they made. But

they never relinquished the privileges of this anomalous ecclesiastical arrangement of necessity, once their missionary work had been accomplished. The archipelago had been from the early years partitioned out in districts among the orders which devoted themselves to missionary labours in the Orient, these being, besides the Jesuits, the Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Recollets. Despite the plain intention of the Spanish Government even at the very outset to supplant the friars with secular priests as settlement was achieved, comparatively few Spanish seculars ever came out to the archipelago, and those mainly for the benefices connected with cathedral churches and for a few congregations principally composed of Spaniards in the chief towns. Even in the early years there were ordained in the little seminaries connected with the episcopal sees some sons of the country, at first principally the children of Spanish fathers, who devoted them to the Church partly at least as a means of securing them an education and a calling.

Some few of these native-born priests rose to prominence in the Philippine branch of the Church, even to bishoprics. But the disposition of the religious orders to hold firmly to the control of the territory which they regarded themselves as having won for Spain, and in the virtual possession of which they displayed considerable rivalry of pride, was always manifested whenever they

thought this control was threatened in any way. The contest over the right of the bishops to inspect the parishes and make appointments to benefices (except as a mere formal confirmation of the selections made by the provincials of the orders) dates back to 1620, and even farther; and the jurisdiction of the bishops was never, to the end of Spanish rule, fully established in the Philippines, being rather converted into a non-irritant question in recent years by the appointment mainly of members of the Philippine religious orders to the bishoprics. The friars grew more and more to depend upon the Filipinos who were ordained into the priesthood as coadjutors in the large and often unwieldy parishes. But the various attempts to bring out more secular clergy from Spain and to install the Filipino priests at the head of the curacies, especially the very determined effort in this direction by Archbishop Santa Justa y Rufina in the seventh and eighth decades of the eighteenth century, turned the friars bitterly against the native priesthood. Writers of earlier and of recent times have commonly agreed in finding the Filipino priests in general far from what they should be, either in morals or ecclesiastical training, and to that extent there was always reason in the friars' dispraisal of them; but it is to be noted that they were themselves mainly a product of the friars themselves, or of their system, and it is unquestionable that the depreciation of the native priests in recent years,

in the bitterness of religio-political partisanship, has been altogether too extreme.

To how large an extent the political revolution of late years in the Philippines has been the cause of the native priests also, we shall see farther along. In the earlier days, the Filipino coadjutor-priest—and the friar at the head of a large curacy might have a number of such, aiding in the various *barrios* attached to a large town—kept his place, and a very subordinate place it commonly was, as not much more than a frocked lackey of the friar-director of the town. The very designation so rooted in the Philippines of "convent" for the parochial residence shows how remote was the secularisation of the parishes, contemplated when the first missionaries were sent out from their cloisters. This house, which, along with the piles of stone and mortar erected for churches, towered so generally over all other structures of the Philippine village, governmental as well as private, was in no sense a cloister, but was "in those good old days before the Filipinos were corrupted by modern ideas," the very centre of village activities, sometimes social as well as religious and political.

According to recent writers, who were either themselves friars or were pro-friar in their sympathies, those days saw a sort of paradise of simplicity and happiness in the Philippines. We may be skeptical, but we need not quarrel with that conception of a state "where ignorance is

bliss." Once the Philippines were brought into the current of modern trade and modern thought, this could of course not last. The wonder is not that the successive currents of Liberalism, Republicanism, Constitutional Monarchy, etc., that have confused and perturbed Spain itself during the nineteenth century should have had some distant influence upon the Philippines, but rather that in themselves they had so little. It was the entry of foreigners to develop internal and external trade for the archipelago, the opening of the Suez Canal, and the education of young Filipinos in Europe during the latter part of the nineteenth century which prepared the way for a rising against friar-rule that was to become a political revolt against Spain. The movement, as it developed, showed the long strides Filipino opinion had taken since the little upheaval following upon the Spanish Republic of 1868; and toward its progress the magnifying of the so-called revolt of 1872 by the Government, and the relentless proscriptions of leading Filipinos, helped greatly. Theocratic rule was doomed when Filipinos could describe the essential features of friar-rule in the towns with such bitterness, yet justice, as Rizal in his picture of Father Salví. This friar, significantly, he drew as one of those having austere virtues, yet on that very account more of a tyrant over his people, ruled in this case by two masters, the Spanish priest and the Spanish captain of the rural guard, whose

mutual hostility was a reproduction in miniature of that contest for power in the Philippines between the lay or civil authority, in recent years often anti-Clerical, on one side, and the ecclesiastics on the other. Here is another photograph from *Noli Me Tangere:*

"San Diego was a kind of Rome, but not Rome when the adventurer Romulus traced its walls with the plough, nor the later Rome which shed its own and others' blood to lay down laws for the world; it was like the Rome of to-day, only that in place of monuments of marble and coliseums it had monuments of cane-wattle and a cockpit. The curate was the Pope in the Vatican; the captain of the civil guard was the King of Italy in the Quirinal. . . .

"In his customs and manners, Friar Bernardo Salví was very different from his brothers, and still more from his predecessor, the violent Father Dámaso. He was thin, sickly, almost always pensive, strict in the fulfilment of his religious duties, and careful of his good name. A month after his arrival, almost all joined as brothers of the V. O. T., greatly to the chagrin of its rival, the fraternity of the Most Holy Rosary. The soul leaped for joy to see hanging upon every neck four or five scapularies and around each waist a cord with knots, and those processions of corpses or phantasms in gingham habits. The chief sacristan makes a little fortune selling, or

giving in charity, as one ought to say, all the objects necessary to save the soul and combat the devil. It is well understood that this last-named spirit, who once dared to contradict God Himself face to face and doubt His word, as is told in the holy book of Job, who carried through the air our Lord Jesus Christ, as afterward he did in the Middle Ages with the witches, and as he continues to do, they say, with the witches [*asuang*] of the Philippines, has now, apparently, turned so cowardly that he cannot bear the sight of a cloth on which two arms are painted, or of a cord with knots. Still, this proves no more than that progress is being made in this respect also, and that the devil is retrograde, or at any rate a conservative, like every one who lives in the shadows, unless we must be meant to attribute to him the weaknesses of a fifteen-year-old maiden.

"As we have said, Father Salví was very assiduous in fulfilling his duties, too assiduous, according to the captain of the civil guard. While he preached—and he was very fond of preaching—the doors of the church were closed. In this respect he was like Nero, who permitted no one to go out when he was singing in the theatre; but the Father did so for the good of souls, and Nero for their ill. Every fault of his subordinates he was wont to punish with fines, since he used the rod rarely, in which respect he also differed very much from Father Dámaso, who settled

is no driving out of them,' says a *padre*, 'the cursed belief that the spirits of their ancestors are in the woods and among the roots of bamboos, and that they can bring good or evil among them. They will offer sacrifices to them, and all our books and all our preachings have failed to remove the impressions left by an old man whom they choose to call a sage.' The curates, according to De Mas, profess to believe that these superstitions are passing away; no doubt the Indian conceals them as much as he can from his father confessor, but I have on many occasions convinced myself of their existence and influence. Who indeed, knowing anything of the credulity of the less instructed classes, and not these alone, among ourselves, can wonder at the state of 'the religious mind' of the Philippine Indian? And so little are the priests themselves wholly free from infirmity that a Philippine curate, Mallares, committed and caused to be committed no less than fifty-seven assassinations in the town of Magalang, believing that he should thus save his mother from being bewitched. Mallares was executed in 1840; and in his report the *fiscal* expresses his horror of 'the incredible and barbarous prodigality of bloodshed by this monster.'

" . . . They are fond of religious dramas, especially of one in Tagalog representing the passion and death of Christ [translated into the native dialects, and introduced into the Philippines, let it be added, by early missionary friars].

FILIPINO WOMEN OF THE LOWER CLASS READY FOR CHURCH

But these religious representations and gatherings give rise to scandal and abuse, and the birth of many illegitimate children. The priests have generally prohibited these exhibitions at night, and sometimes disperse them, whip in hand; at other times, the singers are denounced, and get flogged for their pains—or pleasures."

Sixty years ago one Apolonio de la Cruz, who, according to some of the Spanish accounts, seems to have been a sincere fanatic, posed as a new Christ among the Filipinos, and before he and his followers were secured by a regular military campaign he had upturned the entire province of Tayabas and adjoining districts of southern Luzon. On a smaller scale, this province was disturbed by a very similar impostor in 1903, and Sorsogon to the southward is never without some such fanatical movements in its less settled parts. A religious society which the Dominican fathers started in Pangasinan province and the neighbouring districts of Union and Sambales provinces in the last years of Spanish rule, to hold together that portion of the ignorant populace which was most addicted to the Church against the secret associations of the anti-friar propaganda then taking form, eventually became a serious menace to order under American rule, and still, by the factional jealousies aroused, exercises a malign influence in that whole district. This was the society known as "Guards of the Honour of

Mary"; and, while its objects were not, of course, subversive of public order prior to the time when the friars had to flee from that district, its fanatical tendencies and the dense ignorance of the mass of its devotees speedily made it a thoroughly disreputable and scandalous organisation, under the unrestrained guidance of the shrewder but unscrupulous middle-class Filipinos whom the fathers had used to coerce the ignorant masses into joining it. These leaders were, in fact, an organised gang of thieves and cut-throats, preying upon the lives and property of the well-to-do Filipinos who would not secretly connive at what they were doing or pay tribute to them, especially the Filipinos who had been identified with the revolution against the friars and Spain. They adroitly played upon the credulity of the masses, giving the organisation superficially a religious significance, and at one time, before American military authority intervened, had herded nearly twenty thousand Filipinos into a new town located on the property of men who had been proscribed for assassination. In this town, called Kabaruan, there were at one time personages made to pose as God, the Saviour, the Holy Ghost, and the Virgin Mary, these personages being elderly natives of the most ignorant and squalid type. All these holy persons were in 1901 confined for a time in an American military prison.

In Manila itself, in 1901, gatherings of credu-

lous fanatics who were prostrating themselves before a "Black Jesus," and giving their savings for miracle-working objects to the impostors who exploited this repellent character, had to be broken up by the police. Somewhat allied with this imposture was a fanatical movement which started in Old Cavite in 1901 and for a time threatened to become a little sect in itself, called the society of "Colorum." Its manipulators brought to Old Cavite from the Laguna region a woman who had wonder-working herbs and stones said to have been sprinkled with the blood of the Saviour on one of the mountains bordering Cavite province. Broken up there, they established headquarters for a time in Manila; but the three leaders, who called themselves "Favourites of the Nazarene," transferred their activities again to Old Cavite when things had quieted down, and, in one week before they were finally suppressed by the police, had secured several hundred ignorant adepts. Two men were hanged in Luzon in 1903 for killing a "witch." A spurious Virgin gulled the fanatics of one of the chief towns of Tarlak province in 1902, until the processions and miracle-working seances were stopped by the authorities; but a still more serious imposture occurred in the very same section in 1904. Only a short time ago, a mere puddle of water in one of Manila's suburbs was converted for the credulous into a miraculous fountain, until the health authorities intervened and

stopped the income of copper coins for the promoters of the fraud. The repeated troubles in Sámar have always had in them an element of religious imposture, wherein may be traced the existence still of some of the witchery beliefs of the Filipinos at the time of the conquest. In the interior districts of Panai, the sacrifice of pigs and frothing spasms of the *babailanes* (primitive soothsayers and witch-doctors, both men and women) have never at any time entirely ceased. The belief in charms, commonly called *anting-anting*, and consisting perhaps of a breastplate of cotton cloth painted with fantastic designs (in which the cross, the name of the Virgin, etc., may be mingled with hieroglyphics having no meaning at all), has always survived, was fully exploited during the late wars, and plays its part to-day in inspiring terror and respect for banditchiefs said to be invulnerable to the bullets of the Government's soldiers. After all, the *antinganting* is, as Rizal pointed out, only an unauthorised scapulary. The connexion between fanaticism and superstition of this sort and criminality is readily traceable. The existence among the masses of such ignorance and credulity is, perhaps, the main reason why banditry and outlawry of all sorts have always persisted, and assume today such troublesome proportions, when public order is just being restored after the warfare that went on from three to six years in almost all the lowland regions of the archipelago. That

banditry has always had in it an element of revolt against friar-rule or civil tyranny in the villages, and was to that extent participated in by the more independent, if also often lawless and brutal, men of the masses, is unquestionable. That it has more closely assumed a political aspect in recent years, during the more clearly defined revolt against Spanish rule and during the warfare against American sovereignty, is also apparent. Rizal, in numerous passages, has shown the political origin of much of this outlawry, though, as he was writing for political purposes, he was disposed to overstate this element in the modern outlawry of the Philippines. Even though there is some trace of a distorted patriotism in the movements of some of the bandits, they are in general mere criminals and self-seekers, and the worst tyrants, torturers, and terrifiers of their own people that there have ever been. The political aspects of banditry, though somewhat overstated, are well brought out in this passage of *El Filibusterismo*:

"Matangláwin was the terror of Luzon. No sooner did his band appear in one province where it was least expected than it upturned another province just preparing for resistance. It burned a sugar-mill in Batangas and destroyed the crops; the next day it assassinated a justice of the peace in Tianí, and to-morrow will surprise a town in Cavitë and capture the arms in the town hall.

The central provinces from Tayabas to Pangasinan suffered its depredations, and its bloody name reached even Albai on the south and Kagayan on the north. The towns, being without arms, on account of a weak government's lack of confidence, fell easy prisoners to it. Upon its approach, the cultivators abandoned their fields, the work-animals were decimated, and a trail of blood and fire marked its passage. Matangláwin laughed at all the harsh measures dictated against robbers. The burden of suffering under these measures fell only upon the inhabitants of the *barrios*, who if they resisted him were made captive or tortured, or if they made truce with him were whipped or exiled from home by the Government—that is, if they ever reached the place of banishment and did not meet 'accidental death' on the way. Thanks to this terrible alternative, many countrymen decided to enlist under his command.

"Because of this reign of terror, the commerce of the towns, already in a desperate condition, was dying completely. The rich man did not dare to travel about, and the poor man was in terror of being made a prisoner by the civil guard, which, under the obligation of running down the robbers, frequently seized the first man they found and subjected him to indescribable tortures. In its impotence, the Government made a great show of vigour against the persons that seemed suspicious to it, so that, by force of

cruelty, the townsmen might not discover its weakness, the fear which dictated such measures."

There is the same element of terror among the ignorant, and of political revolt against the abuses of the civil guard, in the prevalent banditry and lawlessness of certain of the Philippine provinces to-day. The civil constabulary and the scouts (native soldiers enlisted as part of the army of the United States and employed to aid the civil government in the most disturbed provinces) are repeating many of the abuses of the civil guard under Spain. To a considerable extent, their membership, and especially that of the secret police which in large part directs their movements through its information, is made up of Filipinos who turned informants upon their own people during the contest against the United States. Such men are improper agents to employ, no matter what their loyalty and ability in ferreting out plots. Generally speaking, the Filipino who covets a uniform will abuse his own submissive fellow-countryman because of the possession of it, through his own evil passions or to gratify personal spites, even where he did not come to be regarded by his people as a sort of traitor to them during the war. These things are fully appreciated by the men in superior command of the constabulary operations, and it has been their effort to select the material for enlistment so far as might be, also to weed out undesirable

characters. Were the subordinate American officers of constabulary and scouts always what they should be, this work would be easy; but there are not lacking among them petty tyrants, often infected with race-prejudice, and men utterly unfit to exercise powers giving them a wide discretion and virtual authority over a town or country district. Already, the officered staffs of these forces have shown that they need culling, if the delicate mission which is entrusted to them in the country districts is to be performed not only in the manner but according to the spirit which is counted upon in the policy of the Government. Nevertheless, whatever may be the defects of the new organisation for the maintenance of public order, the truth is that abuses of the sort complained of under the old civil guard and to-day under the constabulary will never be removed until the Philippine rural population—often the upper class as well as the lower—come to know better what are their rights before the law, and still more to have the resolution and independence to assert those rights. The abuses rest purely upon the subjection and submission bred of ignorance and timidity on the part of the great majority of Filipinos. In those few cases where the law is appealed to by a Filipino of some spirit and independence, the courts regularly show that the appeal is not in vain, as do the superior executive authorities when abuses are brought to their attention. One might sum up almost the

entire problem of Filipino citizenship to-day in the necessity for better knowledge of the individual's rights and more independence of will. It is a problem of education, and upon its solution depend the successful working of the autonomous municipal *régime*, the effective administration of justice (that the courts may not be deceived or justice frustrated by the timidity or falsehoods of witnesses), the uprooting of the old economic slavery, and in general the uplifting of the Filipino people.

In large part, however, it must again be repeated, banditry is, as it always has been, sheer outlawry and criminality in the Philippines. The war has aggravated it, and its causes, that is all. The bandits who, in 1840, according to De Mas, made travel, especially by night, dangerous within only a few miles of the south boundaries of the city of Manila, were never during Spanish rule wholly driven from their strongholds in that part of Cavite. On the north, they operated from the foothills along roads running almost as close to the capital. There are various provinces to-day which, as a result of the thorough scouring received during the military operations of 1899 to 1901, are unquestionably freer of prowling marauders, and safer for travel by day or night, than they ever have been before. In other provinces, notably Cavite and the island of Sámar, where the bitterness of war with the Americans still has a great influence among the masses,

there is a chronic condition of disorder which hampers the return of these districts to the more nearly normal state existing prior to 1896 and 1898.

Bowring has given a table showing the trials for graver offences of all sorts which came before the supreme court at Manila for review during the years 1851 to 1855. Of these, robbery, mostly highway robbery and sometimes including violence and bloodshed, was the charge in 595 cases out of 1238; 324 were blood crimes, of which 315 were murder; 205 charges were military or political in their character, chiefly being desertions from the native army, etc.; and only 33 were sexual crimes. This table is of value as showing the relative proportion of criminal charges in those days, but is of scarcely any value in estimating the proportions of criminality among the population, since justice was notoriously deficient in those days, and many crimes went unpunished. The American Census of 1903 showed that the proportional number of criminals in confinement in all the archipelago was eight in each 10,000 of population as compared with thirteen in each 10,000 of inhabitants in the United States itself. Though many crimes go unpunished, and not a few unknown, in some districts of the Philippines to-day, the jurisdiction of the courts is far more effectively in force than a half-century ago, when the governors of the provinces were still the superior judges, though often they were not law-

yers and commonly they were careless as to their judicial duties; and these figures are, on the whole, testimony to the generally law-abiding character of the Filipino people. The supervisors of the census in the provinces reported the most common crimes to be highway robbery, theft, assault, and murder; and the detailed statistics for the penitentiary in Manila showed, out of 1787 prisoners, 556 charged with or convicted of murder, homicide, or assassination, these crimes being in many cases connected with bandit or guerilla operations, 430 with theft and robbery, only 89 being charged with highway robbery alone, unmixed with other charges. The law to-day is very strict with banditry, or "ladronism," as it is commonly called in the Philippines, and the death-penalty may be, and often has been of late, inflicted upon the leaders of such bands. Banditry is, under the present conditions, regarded as equivalent to sedition, regardless of whether its chiefs have, or claim to have, any mixture of "patriotic" motives with their thirst for the exercise of power or their greed for gain. Every leader of one of these lawless bands which has wrought any amount of disorder to speak of is sure to be the instigator, either directly or indirectly, of various assassinations and murders, as well as of less deliberate blood-crimes.

The callousness with regard to the causing of suffering by means of brutal tortures, extending

even to the taking of life under the most repellent circumstances, is an accusation from which the Filipino cannot be exculpated. It will not do, of course, to judge this people too harshly on account of the crimes, sometimes personal, sometimes quasi-political, and often merely wanton, which have been committed in the course of the great social upheaval that has attended the war against Spain and against the United States. Yet we cannot pass by some of the revelations of barbarity during the recent warfare, especially as such barbarity was directed so commonly against Filipinos themselves, and not against American soldiers except in comparatively few instances. Loose testimony by soldiers and officers on the American side is to be accepted with caution. But we have the records of the trials by American military commissions of 622 Filipinos during the period from June, 1900, to June, 1902, for crimes that were purely outlawry and banditry and for deeds performed with the notion that political ends were thus being served. But a minority of all the offenders were ever brought to book, it must be recalled, and some of the most shocking brutalities had to go unpunished. Yet, of the 622 who were tried within two years on serious charges, plain murder was the accusation (sometimes mixed with other charges) in 533 cases, as against 83 accusations for the commission of other felonies, and only 80 were chiefly charged with violations of the laws of war. Of the 370

men sentenced to death, some were so sentenced for having been instrumental in killing more than one, and sometimes for killing numerous victims; and only 44 were acquitted. But 45 of these crimes were committed against Americans or Europeans, all the rest being committed by a Filipino or a band of Filipinos against their own fellows. In 86 cases, the accused pleaded that he had only executed the order of a superior officer to do murder, and this plea availed to secure more liberal treatment for 54 men. Twenty-five of the leaders who incited to murders that were committed through ignorant agents were sentenced to death. Three men were found guilty of being hired to murder, their victims numbering six. Shocking cases of torture were revealed, as follows: victims buried alive, 25 (including one woman); burned alive, 6 (including two women); garroted, 1; other tortures ending in death, 78, among the forms of torture which were worse than the traditional "water-cure" being the hacking out of eyes, cutting off of ears, tongues, etc. These were cases of torture of Filipinos by Filipinos, and 71 of the victims were women and children, aside from 17 cases of rape.

Under one aspect, the record of horror of which the above trials are only a partial disclosure was a somewhat natural orgy of retaliation, on the part of a long submissive populace, for the abuses and brutalities of the armed corps which had held them in subjection by terror and torture. Once

retaliation was resorted to—and it was first of all invoked by the Spaniards, in 1896–7—in the hands of ignorant leaders of a petty sort, belonging to a guerilla organisation wherein discipline was virtually unknown, it was sure to lead to the worst extremes. It is also true that the American scutcheon is not clean of the stain of having employed torture and displayed sometimes a vindictiveness that speedily degrades warfare into something even more hellish than it necessarily always is. But if provocation could at all justify such measures, the Americans had the first provocation, and a good deal of it; while, above all, we have seen detailed in the above figures a terrible record of brutality of Filipino toward Filipino, far in excess of his maltreatment of American soldiers—for which, in point of fact, he had comparatively few opportunities. And, while we must in fairness state that, in the majority of instances, these crimes not sanctioned by the modern laws of warfare were committed by and at the instance of Filipinos of the most ignorant sort, yet most of the educated leaders—some of them, too, boasting of a European education—winked at such measures in their loose instructions to their subordinates, if indeed they did not actually order them, as in some cases they did. Nevertheless, before we conjure up any picture of a people "running amuck" or throwing off its "thin veneer of civilisation" and reverting to the "Oriental brutality" which some writers say lies

always under the surface, let us remember what happened in France at the end of the eighteenth century, not merely in the Vendée but also under the very shadows of civilisation's boasted monuments of art in Paris itself, nor forget that such scenes have been repeated on a lesser scale in Italy, Spain, and other countries of Europe, during the nineteenth century. Nor have the northern races of Europe been blameless in this respect, especially in the tropics, in years whose records of brutality are still fresh in mind, as India and Africa could testify.

These are things to bear in mind before we draw a hasty conclusion as to the Filipinos having only a veneer of Christianity. It will already have occurred to the reader that the credit which has been given to Spain and Spain's missionaries in these pages for having Christianised and partially Europeanised the Filipinos is, after all, only of a superficial value, if the Filipinos have only adopted the forms, without the substance, of Christianity, and if the masses underneath are still practically the same Malays as they were in the sixteenth century. It is apparent at once that this question goes to the bottom of the political problem in the islands, which is, whether or no the Filipinos are to-day ready for a higher form of government and a social and industrial *régime* which implies their advance in civilisation beyond that of any other Malay community known. The question is not one to be settled *ex cathedra*.

In this chapter on religion in the Philippines, we have seen produced, one after another, instances and statements of fact which go toward proving that the masses of the Filipinos have been in large part untouched by the uplifting influences of the best features of the Spanish *régime*. But it is certainly unfair to take the worst manifestations of a people's life and its most deficient social types as proofs of its capacities and aspiration, or even as exemplars of its actual status.

We must look somewhat at least to the superior product of the Philippines, must consider the aims and ideas of their best men, and accept them to a considerable degree as the proper spokesmen of their people, in order to draw a fair conclusion as to their future possibilities. These men have an education of an Occidental sort, the literature they read is Occidental, and their social and political aims and ideas are Occidental. Brutal as were some of the attendant circumstances of the recent warfare, unmistakable as was its accompaniment of race-hatred, and imperfect as was the realisation of republican ideals by the "Filipino Government," yet the political revolution of 1896–7 and 1898–1901 in the Philippines—which is still going on, under another aspect—stands as something unique in the Orient. That there was sincere patriotism evinced during this struggle, and that to some extent an ideal of nationality has been attained even among the masses, is beyond question. Nor were the chief

patriots, nor the men who most of all brought about this political revolution, all half-castes by any means; so let us not strain the argument about "an infusion of European blood."

Filipino morals, the morals of the masses, have been in some degree revealed in the exposition of Filipino village life. Gambling would seem to be the chief vice, from its various harmful consequences. So little, if anything, was accomplished by the friars toward checking this evil that we must doubt the stories about their having changed the Filipinos completely from an intemperate to a very temperate race, as they undoubtedly now are. We must suspect that the early friar-chroniclers exaggerated the stories of intemperance and bestiality in food and drink, especially as these feasts and revels were, as they are to-day, when the Filipino goes beyond his usual customs of sobriety, connected with weddings and funerals and other such occasions, and in primitive times, moreover, these affairs were involved with the religious practices, sacrifices of pigs, etc., which the friars sought to supplant.

Somewhat the same is perhaps the case with regard to the sexual bestiality of which the zealous missionaries of the first years of the conquest accused the Filipinos. At the same time, the case here is much clearer for a reform having been wrought by the friars in some respects. In no other Oriental community do women hold so high a position, in family life and in social

matters, as in the Philippines. It seems quite certain that this must be ascribed to the introduction of Christianity, in itself alone tending to exalt the position of woman to that of an equal with man; and also to the fact that, as in religious observances everywhere, woman is foremost and most faithful, and the friars have through the women exercised in the greatest degree their hold upon the people. Without going at all into the vexed and delicate question as to the morality of the friars themselves, it is highly significant as to the moral status of the Filipinos that they were quite commonly inclined to condone or ascribe little importance to cases of this sort which were absolutely notorious. Some of the sons of friars have been foremost in the political revolution, primarily directed against friar-rule in matters of thought and of superior government and friar-dictation in local affairs. Among themselves, the Filipinos are moral, if we judge them by their own standard, a lax European standard among those having the best education in Spanish teachings and customs, a more typically Oriental, perhaps we should say tropical, standard among the masses. The comparative lack of prostitution and of the sexual crimes may easily be given an exaggerated importance as reflecting the status of Philippine society in this respect. When it is said that faults before marriage are quite easily excused in one sex as well as the other, and that living out of wedlock is common, the other side

of the picture is presented. The former ministers of the Church have something to answer for with respect to this living out of wedlock, and the status in the Philippines under former Church domination in government and society was such that its ministers should hardly desire to invite the comparisons which are inevitable when they criticise the recent institution of civil marriage and of divorce.

So far as the Filipinos themselves are concerned, there has been a politico-religious question, or rather religion has assumed a political aspect, only during the past forty years or so. The perennial strifes of the religious orders with the civil authorities were matters of prestige and power as between the Spanish rulers, not affecting the masses of the people particularly; even the question of the ordination of natives as priests and the placing them in charge of curacies, so far as it was a vital issue prior to 1850, was mainly an issue between lay governors or secular bishops and the regular orders, wherein the native priests themselves did not play any very active part, while much less did the question become one of great popular interest. The Philippines were almost cut off from the rest of the world, living a life by themselves, and there were few Filipinos who might take an intelligent interest in such questions, and those few either not courageous enough to venture to form a "public opinion" or not disposed to make

themselves heard, being bound to the existing order of things by the bonds of self-interest and by possessing a place in the native aristocracy.

With the development of foreign trade, Filipino life gradually ceased to be life within a shell. Some echoes of Spain's troubling political questions, of the contest in the home country between Liberalism and Reaction, began to be heard in the Philippines. Before the premature republic of 1868, there had been an attempt to introduce educational reforms in the Philippines, beginning in 1863 so far as government decrees were concerned, but in part dating back also to the return to the Philippines of the Jesuits in 1859, bringing more modern ideas and methods in education, especially taking form in the establishment of the first crude chemical and physical laboratories in the islands. When the regular orders chose to fight the Jesuits in their efforts to reform the Philippine teaching force, and to resist the decreed reforms of the village schools, in the direction of improving the course of primary education and of restricting the friar-curates' powers of supervision, the "friar-question" of recent years began to outline itself. The vengeful reaction which followed upon the rather foolish and impracticable Liberal *régime* of 1868–9 in the Philippines, particularly the giving an exaggerated importance to the Cavite mutiny of 1872 and the exiling of prominent Filipinos who had identified themselves with the preceding Liberal administration,

has already been stated as one of the prime causes in leading the Filipinos into hostility toward Spain. There are circumstances which go to indicate that the religious orders used this mutiny as a means for getting rid of three Filipino priests who had shown some independence in resisting the encroachment of friar-curates into parishes hitherto held by native priests, and that the accusations against Fathers Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora were trumped up; whether this be true or not, the Filipinos generally have always believed so, and the consequences politically were just the same as if there had indeed been a foul plot for bringing about the execution of these priests. Only by publicly producing the full proof of their guilt could Spain have evaded the consequences of shedding their blood. It was one of the accusations against Rizal when he was banished to Mindanao in 1892, and when he was condemned to death in 1896, that he had written this dedication to his novel *El Filibusterismo:*

"The Church, by refusing to degrade you, has placed in doubt the crime that has been imputed to you; the Government, by surrounding your trials with mystery and shadows, causes the belief that there was some error, committed in fatal moments; and all the Philippines, by worshipping your memory and calling you martyrs, in no sense recognises your culpability. In so far, therefore, as your complicity in the Cavite mutiny

is not clearly proved, as you may or may not have been patriots, and as you may or may not have cherished sentiments for justice and for liberty, I have the right to dedicate my work to you as victims of the evil which I undertake to combat. And while we await expectantly upon Spain some day to restore your good name and cease to be answerable for your death, let these pages serve as a tardy wreath of dried leaves over your unknown tombs, and let it be understood that every one who without clear proofs attacks your memory stains his hands in your blood!"

Liberalism had, late in the day, raised its head in the Philippines, and in so far as it should grow, friar-rule must give place or there would be a clash. It did not matter that it was liberalism of a somewhat distorted sort, really illiberal and fanatic in some respects; so, too, the Church which has opposed Liberalism (of the capitalised sort) was represented in the Philippines by ministers who were probably the most reactionary and mediæval in the world, the most backward monastic products of the most backward of the old nations of Europe. The time had come which was foreseen by that clear-sighted German observer Feodor Jagor, who travelled through the archipelago in 1859:

"The old situation [that of Filipino rustic simplicity and theocratic rule of a rather benevo-

lent sort] is no longer practicable, with the social change which the times have brought. The colony can no longer be excluded from the general concert of peoples. Every facility in communication opens a breach in the ancient system and gives cause for reforms in a liberal sense. The more that foreign capital and foreign brains penetrate, the more they increase the general welfare, the spread of education, and the stock of self-esteem, the existing ills becoming in consequence the more intolerable."

Rightly or wrongly, the friars were held responsible for the great majority of banishments, whether summarily ordered upon civil executive order or decreed judicially, that followed after the political reaction of 1872. Certainly, the friar-curates were the men chiefly consulted as to persons and conditions in their communities, and there grew up a set of sycophants of the friars, men who held their property and homes secure by turning the authorities against fellow-Filipinos of whom they were jealous, and who were identified with the movement for reform in education and for freer thought and greater political liberty of action. Not all the men who were exiled were high-minded patriots, but the more progressive element of Filipinos were in sympathy with this movement, and most of the real patriots were of the class whose members were either directly proscribed or lived under suspicion. The mere word

of a friar-curate against a Filipino who would no longer kiss his hand undoubtedly availed more than once to secure this man's banishment from his family and his exile in unsettled portions of the Philippines or in the Carolines or the Spanish fever-islands off the coast of Africa.

Gradually, these men escaped or were permitted to go to Hongkong and to Japanese ports in the Orient, and to cities of Spain itself or to Paris and London, and there small colonies of Filipinos grew up, swelled by the men of property who fled under fear of exile and by the young Filipinos who were being sent abroad in increasing numbers to get education. Hence, the propaganda for reform in the Philippines was largely made outside of the islands. It was not a wholly logical programme the propagandists put forth, and it had in it something of Filipino class-feeling, as will later be seen. Above all, it was injured by the impracticable nature of most of the members of Spanish reform parties. Their measures for Philippine reform, when the Liberals were in power in Spain, were often of a fantastic and unreal sort; and the repeated changes in Spanish administrations, both in Spain and in the islands, tended to nullify the really practicable measures of reform, while corruptness of the Philippine civil service was a close attendant upon such frequent changes of administration. Still, some very considerable and solid reforms in political administration were accomplished in the

eighties and early nineties of the last century. The best element of Filipinos and the progressive element in Spanish politics might have come to work together effectively for the betterment of conditions in the islands, had it not been that in the background there were always the friars, powerful in politics at Madrid and threatening always to upset every reform measure when the inevitable governmental reaction set in at Madrid. The municipal reform of 1893 had not really been made effective when the Spanish power in the islands fell before that of the United States in 1898. It was, even if fully carried out, only a measure which gave some added freedom of action to the upper class in each community, but promised little or nothing for the masses.

The friars claimed to the last, and continue to claim, that the masses in the Philippines loved them and remained faithful to them. There are detached pieces of evidence corroborating this view enough to give it the semblance of full truth. It would be more exact to say that in some towns and in certain districts this remained the case. It is not without its significance that these districts are almost invariably the most backward communities of the Philippines; they are the communities, in general, into which friars have ventured to return, in isolated numbers, as parish priests, since peace has been re-established in the years from 1899 to 1902. It is also true that there are relatively progressive communities where the

memory of some good *padre*, who was a master, but a benevolent and kindly master, is still cherished. It is also true that, even in the regions where political revolution has most stirred the people, the friars could, if protected from the more radical and lawless element, still go back to their curacies and resume in a large measure, if at all judicious, their old sway. But this would be through their hold upon a large proportion of the women, and through the terror and tendency to cringe of the average humble Filipino.

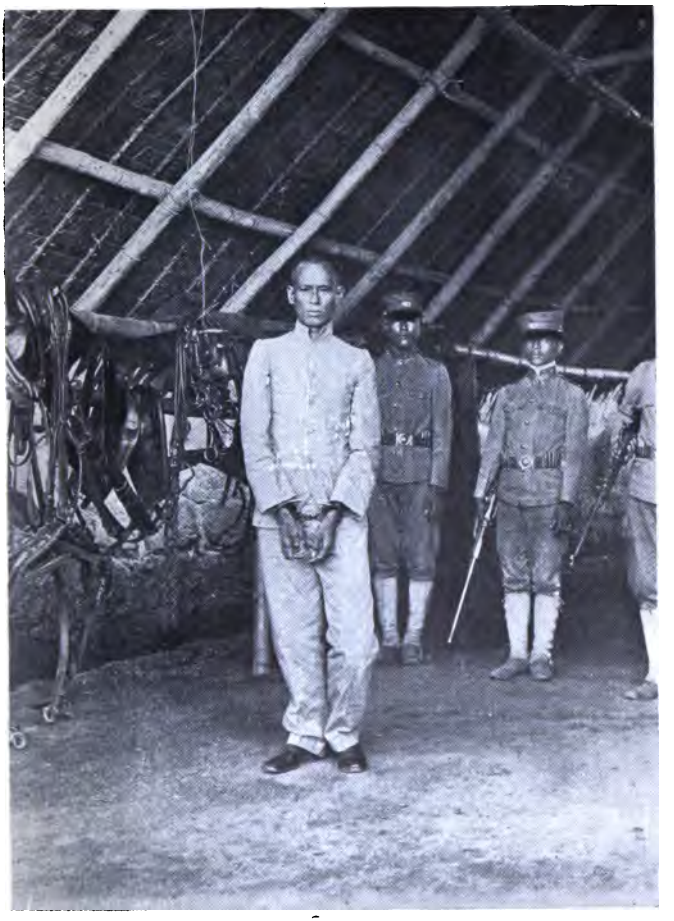
The sway of the friars over the educated class in the towns, and over the more resolute and independent of the small middle class and of the masses, is for ever gone, and could only be sustained by the bayonets of the Government; that it would be a political mistake of the crassest sort for the Government to extend such support is obvious. It is significant that the friars, though free to return to their parishes in most districts since 1900, and in all since 1901, have in but a few cases ventured back into the towns of the more settled and populous provinces. They would have done so, could they have been assured of the special favour and protection of American military power, and could they have gone back carrying the virtual threat to their opponents that the "Government was behind them," as it was in the old days. With the purchase of their landed estates by the new Government in the

islands, and the final assurance that they could expect nothing more than a free field and no favours under the present administration, the "friar-question" under its old form has almost been eliminated from the Philippine situation; and the number of friars of the old dominant orders has dwindled to a little more than two hundred, who are mainly occupied in the educational institutions of the Church at Manila and in ecclesiastical posts where they do not come into contact with the masses of the people in a direct way. The bitter resentment that was shown against them has dwindled to a mere mutter of hostility, capable, however, of rising again to an outburst of rage on the part of the Filipinos most concerned with public affairs whenever there is suspicion of renewed encroachments of the friars upon the parishes.

But in other phases the "religious question" is not so completely removed from Philippine politics. One thing that stands in the way of this desirable result is the fact that it is a handy instrument for the demagogues; they can still hold the fear of "friar-rule" before the people with some effect for their own ends. This is largely because even the educated class among the Filipinos do not fully comprehend the real meaning and the scope of the principles of religious freedom and of separation of Church and State which have been established under the new Government. Finally, and closely connected with

the fact that not all the people, but only an element among them, turned, from reasoned-out motives, against the friars, there are two factions among the Filipino people, above and below, one addicted to the old *régime* in matters of religion and the other to the new principles of religious freedom, among which latter element are many who have shaken off their adhesion to any form of religious practices. The element of educated Filipinos who remain faithful to Rome and her institutions to-day are in the main, though not wholly, the element of Filipinos who were pro-Spanish to the last, whose connection with Spanish blood and Spanish society in the islands was closest, and who are to-day, as formerly, not in close sympathy with the new popular aspirations of the Filipinos.

There are notable exceptions to this rule of a "test of faith," but it is a rule nevertheless. One phase of the reform propaganda carried on in Spain and in the islands during the last years of Spanish rule was the formation of lodges of Spanish Masonry; it need hardly be said, for those who are at all familiar with the course which Masonry, genuine or not, has taken in the Latin countries, that there was involved in this movement in the Philippines a considerable degree of opposition to the Church itself, as well as especially to the monastic orders of the Church. Rizal's pages glitter with sarcasms on the Church and its observances, which the somewhat shad-



FAUSTINO GUILLERMO, ONE OF THE NOTED QUASI-POLITICAL BANDIT CHIEFS OF THE LAST FEW YEARS, IN THE HANDS OF THE CONSTABULARY BEFORE HIS EXECUTION, BY HANGING, IN 1903

owed retraction wrung from him by his old Jesuit teachers in the last hours of his life can not rob of their significance. As in the Latin countries of Europe, so in the Philippines, the forms and teachings of the Church which so long stood for authority having once been called in question by independent minds, their next course leads them almost directly to free-thinking. To this extent, the friars were right in declaring that the reform propaganda, directed primarily against them, was really aimed against the Church and against the traditional Spanish religion. It was all "Free-Masonry," in their view, that was upheaving Philippine society, and they ignorantly regarded the Katipunan also as Masonic. This was simply an extension of the idea of secret association among the masses, copied after the Masonic organisations of the upper class by the new and more resolute, also bloodthirsty, leaders of the middle class, chief among them Andres Bonifacio. In considering the existence of factions on the religious or other questions in the Philippines, we can, generally speaking, disregard the masses of the people, as having no real "public opinion." In the Tagalog provinces around Manila, where the Katipunan had its chief stronghold (never, in fact, being generally organised throughout the archipelago, as has frequently been asserted), the masses were, however, not negligible, even if they were led blindly after their new middle-class chiefs of the secret associations. A thorough-

going and deep-seated popular hatred of the friars exists, and has for a long time existed, in those provinces, there being very closely connected with it the fact that nearly all the agricultural land of the friars was held in those districts, making the religious also an agrarian question. Outside of those districts, generally speaking, the masses have followed their social overlords and economic bosses. But some years of warfare and unrest have stirred them not a little, and where, as generally, two factions exist among the men of education and property, the division of the masses is also something to be considered.

The more bloodthirsty Filipinos, both intellectual radicals and Katipunan masses, would have tortured and murdered the friars who fell into the hands of the revolutionary forces, both in 1896 and in 1898. That only a comparatively small number of the prisoners were so treated shows both that this bloodthirstiness did not represent Filipino sentiment fairly, and that there were friends of the friars among the revolutionary leaders (though rarely so, and not openly), while these leaders wished, in 1898 and 1899 at least, to unite with themselves the element of Filipinos who, if not actively in favour of the friars, were not rabid against them. The straight-out revolutionary party did confiscate the property of the religious orders, and held to their point in retaining their friar-prisoners, to the number of several hundred, until forced to release them by the suc-

cessful advance of American arms. There were, however, suspicious movements for compromise on the religious question while the Aguinaldo government survived at Malolos, and no lack of indications that a bitter and turbulent issue would thus have been injected into Philippine internal politics had the United States left the Filipino Government to work out its own salvation.

The clause in the Malolos constitution which ordained the separation of Church and State was carried by only one vote, in a session notable for the absence of half the members, after a heated and bitter discussion, in which some of the out-and-out revolutionists were found arguing, in a somewhat veiled manner, for an agreement with the Church. The conduct of Aguinaldo's military camp in naming Gregorio Aglipay, a Roman Catholic priest from the Ilokan country, "Military Vicar-General" for the Filipino army, was a hint at a new Filipino church establishment, which it was the illusion of the Filipinos for a while that they could arrange with Rome, as they dreamed of German or French intervention in their behalf against the United States. There are various little signs that they bargained at that time with the Roman Catholic hierarchy at Manila, probably with some such end in view as the fuller recognition of the Filipino clergy; and the archbishop's palace was not above negotiating with them, though perhaps only having in mind the securing in this way the release of the friars

who were being held prisoners. At any rate, it is significant that freedom of worship and separation of Church and State are principles which would almost certainly have been rending the Filipino people to-day, had not an outside influence come in to remove the friars, the chief source of strife and suspicion, and to guarantee the maintenance of these two principles. How much has been gained in the interest of public order by the removal of this issue from the centre of the stage may only be estimated by one personally familiar with Philippine conditions. Suffice it to say that, possibly next to its educational programme, this has been the strongest card which the United States has played in Philippine politics, and that an undercurrent of suspicion that the friars might regain their old control under the protection of the United States was all the while the chief reason keeping the Filipino radicals in revolution during 1899, 1900, and in part 1901.

The fight against the friars was a fight in behalf of the Filipino clergy, and in that way formed another aspect of the revolution in behalf of a new and a *national* life. That cause still remains but partially won, in the minds of the Filipinos who comprehend the full significance of all the issues that have been involved in the agitations of these ten years and more past. Under new conditions, it has turned to a demand, within Roman Catholic ranks, for the ordaining of more Filipino priests and the better education of Filipinos des-

tined for the priesthood, for the ordination of one or more bishops from among the foremost of these native priests, and against the substitution of the now ousted orders of friars by other friars, whether of Spain, France, or elsewhere, or by other priests at all, even American. That this is not the attitude of most of the old pro-Spanish party, of the families which remain closely addicted to the old Church, need hardly be stated. Also, the more conservative and well-informed Filipinos of the party in sympathy with the new political and religious ideas perceive clearly that there is need for the oversight of American bishops and for the employment in considerable numbers, for some time at least, of foreign clergy. But there are radicals who are still, nominally at least, Roman Catholics, and they, as well as their brethren in spirit who have quietly or openly renounced the Roman faith, keep up a constant agitation against the preferment of foreign clergy in the Philippine Church, whether American or other.

This is the new phase of the religious question which would have to be fought out, in any event, under the new conditions which have divorced State and Church and given the people freedom to choose their religion and to express their views on religious matters with full liberty while they do not strike at the public peace. But the question is being fought out in a different way to-day from what would have been the case had Rome been well counselled in the first years following the

establishment of American sovereignty in the Philippines. It would then have been frankly recognised and counted upon from the outset that the Roman Catholic would have to some degree to compete with other forms of religion in the islands, and that in the reconciling of the anti-friar Filipinos to the old faith and the reorganisation of the native clergy on such a basis as to satisfy so far as practicable the national aspirations of the people there was a delicate task before Rome's chief ministers in the islands, in order to hold the majority within their fold. Instead of this, no definite plan seems to have been reached or any good understanding of the situation obtained at Rome for four years after the battle in Manila Bay, while Spanish friar-bishops and the religious orders continued to control the ecclesiastical situation in the islands themselves. So, following close upon the negotiations of Governor Taft at Rome in June and July of 1902, there came the organisation of a "Philippine Independent Catholic Apostolic Church" in a meeting held at Manila.

Even then, had Governor Taft been able to announce authoritatively upon his return to the islands that month that the Spanish friars would be withdrawn, in consequence of the acceptance by Rome of the round sum that was offered for their lands—a sum, it is understood, in excess of that finally paid, and held forth for the express purpose of securing at one stroke the elimination

of the friars from the political situation in the islands—it is probable that the schismatic movement would have been almost or quite smothered at the outset. The friars' lands were finally bought, after negotiations between the Philippine Government and the orders, with the new apostolic delegate to the Philippines as mediator; but Rome lost the advantage which she might have secured by a frank and definite withdrawal of the ministers who had remained beyond their period of usefulness, and for the time being the Filipinos were more confirmed than ever in their belief that the monastic orders could and would control the Vatican. When Mons. Guidi, the new apostolic delegate, arrived and published the Pope's bull on the Philippine Church (*Quæ mare sinico*) in December, 1902, the old political turmoil was revived with added fury, in consequence of the full freedom of Filipino speech and press. It was plain from that document that, subsequently to the conferences of Governor Taft in Rome, the reactionary influences had been at work at the Vatican. In some of its passages, the bull was written almost as if in vindication of the friars—a political mistake, whatever one may say as to its historical accuracy—and it bespoke an almost open contempt for the Filipino clergy. Everything in it that might hint at the return of the friars to the parishes was promptly seized upon by the schismatics and by the other radicals who had not openly severed their allegiance to the

Roman Catholic Church. That bull made the Independent Philippine Church for the first time an institution assured of permanency, whereas the schismatic movement had just before dwindled to small dimensions, on account of the feeling of some of its foremost clergymen that the time had perhaps come for an accord with Rome, on account of the failure of Filipinos of standing to identify themselves in any great numbers with the new movement engineered by recognised radicals in politics and religion, and on account of the discredit then attaching to the political agitator who had been chiefly instrumental in launching the new movement.

Since the publication of that bull, the sale of the friar-estates has been arranged and the elimination of the Spanish friars from the situation has gone on quite rapidly. Mons. Guidi proved himself, until his most regrettable death, a man of tact and good disposition toward the Filipinos, and was winning favour. The Spanish bishops were replaced by Americans, which pleased the more temperate-minded of the Filipino radicals, though every movement of these bishops has been watched with suspicion and the slightest indication that they favoured the friars and would accept their advice and counsel upon the best course of procedure has been a strong influence making against religious conciliation. But from the very moment the bull was published, the last hope for any real reconciliation and harmonisation of the whole

Filipino people once more within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church was gone. The new church is headed by the same Father Aglipay (as "Bishop Maximus") who had held some negotiations in 1899 with the imprisoned Bishop Hevia regarding the spiritual oversight of his diocese during the troubled times of war with the United States, and who had been made "Military Vicar-General" of the army under Aguinaldo, himself afterward leading guerilla bands in bushwhacking warfare against the United States in the Ilokan hills. Some eighteen bishops have been ordained from among Filipino priests who have joined the movement, to head the schismatic campaign in the provinces which have been most aroused by it. The movement has extended throughout the Christianised portions of the archipelago, and, though there are some provinces in which it has made little headway, there are others, notably the regions surrounding Manila, Aglipay's home in North Ilokos, and portions of the Bisayan Islands, where it ostensibly enrols more than half the population. It claims over three millions of adherents, or about one-half of the Christian population; and it probably numbers at least two millions of followers. In addition to the two hundred odd native priests who have joined with Aglipay, young native priests are being ordained, with somewhat startling ease and carelessness, in the seminaries which the new Church has opened. Where a large part of the population, and espe-

cially in the towns where the local authorities have joined the new Church, or where priests of the Roman faith were not on hand, the new organisation has possession of the old stone churches in which the friars used to preside. In other places, it has its temporary chapels, often of bamboo and thatching of palm-leaves. It supports a weekly organ, and has adherents among the Filipino newspapers of the archipelago.

It is true that the foremost priests and laymen in this independent Church have been open enemies of the United States, and are, in most cases, still advocates of Filipino independence. It is true that the chief agitator connected with the movement, Isabelo de los Reyes, is a hopeless craver of notoriety and a fluent but shallow demagogue, the last man one might wish to see exercising influence among his people, when their own future good is held in view. He, more than the leading clerics connected with the movement, clung with tenacity to the idea of launching it in 1902, and he has written into its *Doctrine and Constitutional Rules* a lot of fantastic ideas about Christian Socialism, being himself a Socialist of the Latin-European school (so nearly as he knows what he is) and a free-thinker so far as religious faith or practice is concerned. But the promoters of the movement must be given credit for keeping generally within legal methods of conducting their propaganda; and, though not ascribing undue importance to their waving the American flag over

the new altars they dedicate or their converting religious celebrations into occasions for public protestations of loyalty to American Government, their practical acceptance of existing conditions need not be called in question. They recognise that the principles of religious freedom resting securely under American sovereignty have alone made it possible for them to organise and conduct a movement of the sort in which they are now the men of prominence among their people. There is a practical sort of loyalty here which is all that the American Government has any right to expect, with its war against the Filipino people so fresh in memory.

While some of the agitators connected with this movement are with it only because of its possibilities for organising the masses against future contingencies, and because meanwhile they themselves may have the coveted opportunity to "figure" so necessary to their sort of mental constitution, yet the movement itself affords opportunity within peaceful bounds of instructing the people in what real religious freedom and freedom of association are, and it is to be welcomed on that account alone. The Filipinos who care for that sort of thing now have a Church of their own, officered and administered by their own priests, with bishops of their own race; and, if there are many things about the whole movement which seem laughable, and some of the new dignities are used as playthings might be, that is

only an interesting part of the Filipino "storm and stress" of social evolution. The impartial observer finds reason to look for much good to result from this movement, and he will find in various of the clergymen and laymen prominently connected with it legitimate leaders of their people. There is a fair competition for the religious sympathies of the Filipino masses, and the result, in a social and political sense, ought to be beneficial, unless we assume that the Filipino people must remain ever more subject to the control of demagogues than of their better leaders.

Under its purely religious and not its social or political phase, the movement is chiefly noteworthy because it bids fair to become the instrument for partially Protestantising the Filipinos. One may well doubt if Protestant missions would ever have made great headway, certainly in the near future, had no schism come to split the Catholic adherents in twain almost at a single blow. The organisers of the new Church took pains from the start to call their Church "apostolic" and "catholic." They had only rejected the authority of the Pope, they said, because he had shown himself a bad guide, and unwilling to accept or unable to obtain correct information on the Philippine situation. Otherwise, in faith and practices, they would continue the same religion to which the people were addicted, recognising the Filipino clergy and rejecting the friars or other foreign priests. But Protestant ideas had

been at work in the minds of some of the organisers of the movement, and their rejection of the Papal authority carried them farther than they were at first willing to admit. One or two Protestant missionaries have also been close advisers on matters ecclesiastical of the doctors of the new dogma. It is impossible not to trace Protestant influence at every stage in the development of the movement. First, great stress has been laid upon the Bible and upon its dissemination among the masses, the new Church being an active distributor of the gospels which have been translated into the dialects under Protestant missionary auspices. The idea of lay participation in the government of the Church is recognised from top to bottom, and there is somewhat of an approach to congregational government, wherever the rules of the organisation are more than a dead-letter. In repeated clauses, the freedom of individual interpretation of Scriptures and the desire to welcome the teachings of modern science are proclaimed in the *Doctrine and Constitutional Rules*. The bishops, including the Bishop Maximus, are elective. The government schools are declared worthy of enthusiastic support, and in some cases have been given support of a practical kind by the new Church.

Naturally, in a population whose social status is such as we have been seeking to make vivid, no clear conception of religious freedom, any more than of the political rights of the individual, has

yet been attained, or will be for a good while to come. The schismatic movement has brought in its train many petty conflicts of jurisdiction within the towns, and always there has been, and still is, associated with it the possibility of more or less serious local disorders. Right at the outset, the attempts of its followers to seize the old church buildings in some of the suburbs of Manila itself, as well as in provincial towns, led to a strict proclamation of neutrality as between forms of worship on the part of the executive authority, together with the outlining of rules whereby contests over such property must be determined. The party in possession, in each case, was not to be disturbed by force, but the complaining party should carry its claims to the courts for judicial determination. These rules have suffered infraction here and there, where the municipal officials have overstrained their authority in ignorance or in stress of factional feeling. But both the Roman Catholic authorities and the Aglipay organisation are, in various instances, suing for the possession of the churches in some of the villages, and these test cases will lead to a gradual determination of the issue involved. The Filipino radicals have contended, falling back upon the intrinsic justice of the case, that the churches of the Philippines were built by Filipino labour and Filipino contributions, and therefore were the property of the Filipino people, being held in trust for them by the constituted government under American sove-

reignty. Legally, the question has its troublesome aspects, not only where an issue of facts is raised, but also in the underlying difference between the Crown of Spain, "royal patron of religion," and the United States Government, which is forbidden by its Constitution to exercise jurisdiction in religious matters. But it is properly a question for judicial determination, and to the courts it has gone (perhaps will come finally to the Supreme Court of the United States), in happy contrast to the struggle over the question of confiscation which must inevitably have followed upon the establishment of a premature Filipino government.

CHAPTER VI

CACIQUISM AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

THE chief obstacle to social and political progress in the Philippines is "caciquism," the term by which "bossism" is known in those regions. Bossism, as the term is now applied in the United States, is, however, not an accurate translation of the Philippine word. A cacique in those islands is a combination of our political boss, the schoolmaster in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, the old Virginia landlord, and the leader in the local "four hundred" or the husband of such. One may glean indications of the existence of such a family, or of such families, in the life of quiet rural villages of New England in former times. But the picture one may imagine of such rural bossism will not quite fit the Philippine conditions. One must introduce something of the colour of "the South before the war," even partially to realise it. Imagine a rural community, secure in the political dominion of one selectman, or of one or two families of selectmen, and at the social wink and nod of the unofficial manor-house; but picture that sort of local leader-

ship set up in a community where only two, four, or twelve families out of a population of ten thousand or more live in stone houses with wood floors, and the rest in cane shacks, dependent upon those above them for employment, or a piece of land to till, or the money advances inevitably needed each year to till it; finally, transfer your manor to the tropics, where fertility of soil and enervation of climate breed laziness and inertia, above and below in society, and you may have some conception of what caciquism is in Philippine village life.

Caciquism is no new thing in the Philippines, nor is it showing itself to unusual advantage under the American administration. It is, indeed, the chief drawback to the effective working of the autonomous municipal code which was put into operation by the Taft Commission in 1901; but, at the same time, there are evidences under that code of a popular opposition to the rule of the boss. Caciquism was a prime feature of the village life of the Filipinos during the entire three hundred odd years of Spanish control; indeed, one may not unfairly say that the Spanish structure of local government was founded upon it, and fostered not only its continuance, but its growth in new directions. But one may not blame the Spaniards for the existence of caciquism; it was a native institution before they came, and they merely accepted it; indeed, they lessened it in some ways beneficial to the people. The

word *cacique* (old Spanish spelling, *cazique*) was the name for a chieftain or local magnate in Hayti when the Spaniards came there, and they carried the word elsewhere to describe petty local chieftains of the undeveloped communities in South and Central America and in the Orient. The word really has, therefore, a sort of tribal signification, and may well be taken as the equivalent of the *dato* among the Moros of the Philippines to-day. We have already considered the fairness of a comparison between the unchristianised Filipinos of to-day and the Filipino communities at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, and have concluded that they are all quite homogeneous in racial origin and that, allowing for the relatively greater progress of the lowland and river Malays at the time of the conquest, the institutions of Mohammedan and pagan communities of to-day give an approximate notion of the social and political organisation of all the primitive Filipinos.

Caciquism among these semi-feudalistic communities is not the most oppressive kind of bossism. In their rather crude way, justice is ofttimes better secured, life is perhaps almost as safe, and one sometimes guesses that contentment is more common, among the " benighted heathen " of the Philippine hills. The petty rivalries among chieftains, and the tribal animosities, however, make against any social progress whatever, and in innumerable ways the social organisation works

toward the fulfilment of the Scriptural dictum that to him that hath shall be given and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath. Herein lay the evil of the social organisation which the Spaniards found among the Filipinos whom they Christianised. Tribal or chieftains' jealousies laid burdens on the masses, holding them firmly in their subordinate stations or thrusting them under continually harsher yokes as the chieftains grew in power and importance.

The Spaniards did not build deliberately upon this social organisation and rule through the chieftains, as the English now do in the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere. Though they often recognised at the outset the prestige of the chieftains themselves, and sought to exercise control of the people through the aristocrats of the communities, they really crushed the tribal organisations as rapidly as possible. Indeed, the introduction of Christianity, with its rather democratic tendencies in various ways, helped toward this end. Still, the families of power and prestige were bound to hold their place at the top, in some degree at least, in any social organisation. They gradually fell into place in the Spanish scheme as a new aristocracy, holding the petty offices of a civil character, and serving the missionaries, too, as chief aids in mustering their people about the church, gathering them in the village centres, or in the *barrios* " under the

bells." They were the local tax-gatherers, the local administrators of justice, and the go-betweens for their people with the religious and civil authorities of the Spanish administration. The old caciquism, in other words, simply readjusted itself to conditions and, once settled in place, stayed there more firmly than it had in the old days of a less complex social organisation, when the whole was not held together as a unit by ecclesiastical domination, and the chance for individual talent to rise was very likely greater. It is hard to recognise any but the cruder elements of democracy in the primitive Filipino society; but almost certainly there was more of democracy in its comparatively loose organisation (maintained, moreover, by the Filipinos themselves, of and for themselves) than in the hard and fast society into which they speedily crystallised under Spain's inelastic ecclesiatical domination.

Judging Spain by modern standards of colonisation, we might praise her if she had taken over simply the social structure she found and builded upon it her government, modifying and destroying only where its tendencies were anti-progressive, working through the already constituted sources of authority over the people to introduce peace, better methods of cultivating the soil and of living. When Spain chose instead to reject the old social structure, because it was felt to be anti-Christian, to introduce the people of the Philippines not only to the religion of Europe

but also, in some degree, to the customs and laws of Europe, she adopted a programme which is much more ambitious, which strikes more deeply into the essentials of a subjected people's life, than the policy which England is to-day pursuing, for instance, in the Malay Peninsula, or has ever deliberately and consistently pursued in any of the British possessions. "Colonial experts" may differ as to the results of such a policy, may feel sure that the ends for which a colonising power should work, at least deliberately and consciously, should be material only. But we must recognise that Spain, inspired, to be sure, partly by material ambitions, but still more by spiritual aims, did accomplish in the Philippine Islands in the first part of her domination what no other European nation has ever done in the Orient, and did accomplish it without crushing the people under her heel.

To return, however, more closely to our subject, caciquism, we have to note where Spain halted in the labour undertaken, and Filipino society "froze" as it were, under the new rule. If we have to accord to Spain the highest praise for the comprehensive effort to develop a whole people spiritually—praise which is almost unique for Spain among the European nations—we have nevertheless to charge her both with lack of continued progress and lack of consistent policy. Her aims, in so far as they were altruistic, were much in advance of her times. But, after she

had succeeded in the beginnings of the work of primary instruction, and in the introduction of the Filipinos to religious, social, and political beliefs and customs which not only make possible advance and improvement along their own lines, but which demand such constant progress as the requisite of their successful maintenance, Spain halted and folded her hands, the work only just begun, but her conception of it entirely satisfied. Thenceforward she was, as a colonising power, absorbed in the glories of the past and in elaborate self-praise, until, from being the herald of a type of colonisation which was not merely conquest of territory and trade, she was branded by her own beneficiaries as a mediæval tyrant and a reactionary. Unable as yet to handle the institutions of modern social life so as to bring religious and political liberty and economic freedom to herself at home, she could not guide an undeveloped Oriental people, only barely initiated by her into a modified Occidental life, to that stage of development which this people's own leaders dimly feel that they could and should reach.

So Spain gradually riveted caciquism in many ways more firmly than before upon the Filipinos. Her structure of government rested upon the *principalía* (the local aristocracy) of each town, and controlled the masses through them. In all matters of civil administration in the towns, except such as were quasi-military, the life of the people was regulated by their constituted bosses,

subject to the supervision of the friars; this was quite as true of matters judicial as of matters purely executive, the two, in fact, being blended in the village communities, where alone, except in serious crimes, the mass of the natives would, as a rule, come into contact with the courts. The extent to which this same overlordship and aristocracy prevailed in matters of economic organisation has already been indicated in another chapter. One almost inclines to the belief that there was more real opportunity for the existence of a class of independent small landholders under the primitive feudalism of the Philippines than under the system set up by the Spaniards—*laisser faire*, hampered by the creation of an all-powerful official class and by ecclesiastical oversight—at least in those richer valleys of Luzon, where the land, if not practically under the control of a few caciques, was sometimes still more completely concentrated under the control or in the possession of church corporations. How far such conditions, economic and political, would render null the democratising influences of Christianity (the religion, not the Church) may be guessed. How at the same time they would foster the growth of socialistic ideas, especially when helped by the acceptance, nominal or otherwise, of Christianity, may be surmised, even by him who has not seen how in recent years many Filipinos have, in obtaining some touches of European education, turned to European socialism, sometimes of the

French Revolution school, sometimes of the up-to-date Latin-European school, even in its most fantastic manifestations.

For the Filipino propaganda of 1868–1898, culminating in the ill-planned revolt of 1896, was in large part a revolt against caciquism. The propaganda, to be sure, originated with the aristocracy, and was, down nearly to the time of actual revolt, mainly carried on by and in behalf of the upper classes. Its open aims were the "assimilation" of Philippine laws and administration to those of Spain—an illogical programme, overlooking the essential differences between the European mother-country and the Oriental colony, but a programme primarily designed to confer upon the Filipino aristocracy greater rights and privileges for themselves, regardless of the evident unfitness of the masses for privileges which, because of their complex nature, would more easily degenerate into abuses on the part of those qualified to manage to their own ends the new machinery of legal codes and internal administration. But this campaign was something more than it appeared to be on the surface. Had it been merely a clamour for greater privileges on the part of the *principalía*, it would not have led at last to actual revolt; for this class is not composed, for the most part, of fighters. The revolt of 1896 was made by the masses, brought into line by new leaders, not of the upper, but of the middle and lower classes. The very life of

the propaganda from about 1886 onward—a "reform propaganda" we may thenceforward fairly call it, with evidences of something more about it than the petition for greater class privileges—was the work of a few real "sons of the people," young men like José Rizal and Marcelo del Pilar from the heart of the Tagalog country, and Graciano Lopez Jaena from the Bisayas.

Their campaign was not alone a protest against ecclesiastical domination, but also against economic and administrative caciquism, as may best be seen in Rizal's novels, which preach to his own people their lack of independence of mind and will and their other faults of character, which remedied would remedy the evil imposed upon them from above. Rizal's deserved pre-eminence among the propagandists lies not so much in his greater ability as a writer, in his undoubted possession of a keener mind and pen, as in his more thorough perception of the need for arousing his people to their own defects, in his more complete comprehension of the fact that to have a better government they must first deserve it by forming a more worthy society. But, to a great extent, the new school of middle-class propagandists aimed at more of democracy in Philippine society, and to that extent struck at caciquism. The new industrial era in the Philippines, and the expansion of commerce following the removal of the restrictions upon foreigners engaging in business in the islands and the opening of the Suez Canal, had, as

already shown, begun to develop, especially in the provinces centring about Manila, evidences at last of a real middle class. The masses were captained by the more radical of these men in 1896–7. Their demands were rather blind and indefinite, as they had not yet formulated a programme among themselves; but, along with complete exasperation at ecclesiastical dominance in matters of body as well as of conscience, and with a virulent outburst of race-hatred, there was some actual impulse to democracy, some resentment at their own countrymen who were identified with the superior structure of government and society which rested upon them.

The revolution of 1898 was organised by these men, the prestige of a few of them among the masses making its beginning possible. As Spain's power so plainly crumbled, and no declaration of intention came from the United States, the Filipino aristocrats joined the Aguinaldo party, a few at first, then all acquiescing at once, except the very small element of very capable men at the top who wished to wait upon the United States and who were able to see clearly that the time had not yet come to go alone. The younger men of the cacique class had, in advance of their elders, quite commonly sought and obtained military or civil office under the revolutionary government. The older men did so more slowly, and partly from policy, partly because of the absence of any other programme to be followed. One might,

from a superficial view, say that the Filipino upper class organised and ran the so-called Philippine Republic while it lasted. In large part they were identified with it, and most generally the rule of the caciques was not altered in the towns. But the new party of young radicals dominated at the centre of this institution, even though they did not accomplish any reform of the old-time boss-ship, beyond the issuance of unheeded decrees against it. The principal interference with the traditional caciques in the towns came from the new military leaders, chief among them some middle-class and lower-class natives now tasting the sweets of command. The masses were not the gainers by this fact; they had, in reality, more bosses under this temporary *régime* than ever before.

When at last the United States began to present a positive programme to the Filipinos, simultaneously with the exhaustion of the country and its weariness of war, this programme quite naturally appealed more effectually to the men of property, to the old cacique class, than to the young radicals. With some exceptions, the latter yielded only when they were forced to, and are quiescent to-day rather through force of circumstances than otherwise. Omitting some important districts, where the aristocracy has been tenaciously identified with the prolongation of resistance to the United States, the traditional leaders of the Filipinos are reasonably content with the new *régime*,

particularly if they have been able to regain office and social prominence. The masses are, as has been repeatedly said, generally negligible; they follow their bosses. But they have been, especially in the more populous and advanced districts, in some degree torn loose from the traditional caciques, and, having been subjected to the sway of new leaders during from six to nine years of warfare and unrest, are easily made the prey of political adventurers or religious fanatics.

The radicals of one sort and another, a considerable number of whom are dishonest scapegoats and cheap demagogues, have since 1901 quite generally maintained that the Federal party, which is made up of those who brought about peace by accepting the American programme and therefore took office under the new Government, is simply an instrument in perpetuating the old caciquism. There is a large measure of truth in this charge. It is not, however, the fault of the Government, nor of the Filipinos who were identified with the formation of the Federal party, but of the social conditions existing in the Philippines. To return to a truth preached by Rizal, when the Filipinos as a people will reject caciquism, because prepared for something better, then caciquism will cease, and not till then. The organ of those whom we may call the "Young Filipino Party" of to-day, *El Renacimiento*, a daily newspaper published in Spanish and Taga-

log in Manila, is conducting a campaign primarily against caciquism (and so, for that matter, is *La Democracia*, organ of the Federal party). But in the columns of *El Renacimiento* itself we find a collaborator saying, in his department of "Hammer-Blows":

"There are various forms of caciquism. . . . In one place the prosecuting attorney dominates everything,—is the king. Wherever he goes, all thrust upon him liquors, banquets, and ceremonious courtesies. He is the great man of the day. . . . Elsewhere, the municipal president, elected by manipulations of base and disgraceful politics, directs the masses like a god. His phrases are translated into ordinances; his pleasure is law for everybody. . . . The justice of peace can not dictate a sentence without consulting him. The health officer must do the same. Of the chief of police, let us say nothing; for it is well known that he is merely the uniformed messenger . . . Sometimes it is not a public official at all who constitutes himself the autocrat; it may be anybody soever—the chief property-owner—perhaps it may be the local wise man. The latter is the most ferocious: his Latin studies, which back in his best times he pursued in a Manila college, he considers as the supreme synthesis of modern scientific, social, or political theories, etc. His house is visited by the president, the councillors, all those in official position,

to hear *suggestions*. . . . When the field hands descry, even from afar, the silhouette of our wise man through the opening of his window, they begin to take off their hats as if they were to pass before the Archangel Gabriel."

Rizal has drawn in *Noli Me Tangere* a masterly picture of what was the round of life and the character of the cacique of his day, in a picture of an "Indian" who had prospered and grown fat in comparison with his lean fellow-natives subsisting on a meagre diet, who was subservient to the powers above, equally tyrannical with those below him, superstitious and unprogressive. This picture applied almost equally to the half-caste cacique, though he commonly had more polish; and it is still faithful to the life, if we apply it to the Philippines of to-day. This Captain Tiago had been the son of a Filipino who had accumulated a fortune as a confectioner in one of Manila's suburbs, and he himself had, by clever adaptation to circumstances and able manipulations of influence, enlarged his fortune until he was one of the richest proprietors in the Tagalog region of Luzon, having much city property as well as rural estates devoted to rice and sugar culture by his thousands of tenants. But his avaricious father had not been willing to spend money to educate him, and he had profited as a boy only by the voluntary instruction given him by "a good Dominican, a very virtuous man." A well-calculated marriage

aided him in the start toward wealth. Such is his description:

"Short in stature, of a clear colour, well-rounded of body and face, thanks to an abundance of fat which according to his admirers came to him from heaven and according to his enemies from the blood of the poor, Captain Tiago seemed younger than he really was: you would have thought him only thirty to thirty-five years of age. The expression of his countenance was perennially beatific at the period with which our story deals. His cranium, round, little, and covered with a head of hair black as ebony, long in front and very short behind, contained many things, they say, in its cavity. His little eyes, little but not slanted, never changed expression. His nose was thin and not flat, and if his mouth had not been disfigured by the abuse of tobacco and betel, the constant flow of which, gathering in one cheek, altered the symmetry of his features, we might say he had a right to consider himself a handsome man. In spite of this abuse, he always kept white his own teeth and the two loaned him by the dentist at the rate of twelve hard dollars each. . . .

"The opium contract he and a Chinese exploited together and it is superfluous to say that they reaped rich profits. He supplied food for the prisoners in Bilibid penitentiary, and grass for the stables of many of the principal Manila houses,

under contract, of course. In good standing with all the authorities, clever, pliant, and even at times bold, when it was a question of speculating in the necessities of others, he was the only and the formidiable rival of a certain Perez in the matter of farming and auctioning jobs and posts which the Government of the Philippines always confides to private individuals. Captain Tiago was a happy man in so far as a man of small brain can be happy in those lands: he was rich, he was at peace with God, with the Government, and with men.

"That he was at peace with God was unquestionable, almost a matter of dogma: there were no reasons for his being at ill with the good God, when all went well on earth, when one had never communicated with Him, nor ever loaned Him money. He had never addressed himself to God in his prayer, not even in his worst straits; he was rich, and his gold prayed for him. For masses and supplications, God had created powerful and haughty priests; for the special periods of worship and for the saying of the rosary, God in His infinite goodness had created poor folks in the behalf of the rich, poor folks who for a dollar are capable of praying sixteen mysteries and of reading all the holy books, even the Hebrew Bible if you increase the pay. If some time in a particularly great strait he needed the celestial assistance and did not find even a Chinese red taper at hand, he then would address himself to

the saints and saintesses of his vows, promising them many things to compel their good-will and to completely convince them of the goodness of his desires. But it was the Virgin of Antipolo, Our Lady of Peace and Good Voyage, to whom he promised most, and to whom he kept his promises; for, with certain lesser saints, the man was, it must be said, not always punctual, nor even decent, and sometimes, having succeeded in getting what he wanted, he never again bethought himself of them. . . . Captain Tiago knew that the calendar contained many unoccupied saints who perhaps have nothing to do up there in heaven. Moreover, he ascribed greater power and efficacy to the Virgin of Antipolo than to the other virgins all put together, whether they carry canes of silver, Child Jesuses naked or clothed, or scapularies, rosaries or girdles. Perhaps this might be because the first-named was a lady of a very stern type, very careful of her name, an enemy of photography according to the chief sacristan of Antipolo, and who, when she is angry, turns black as ebony, and by side of whom the other Virgins are softer of heart and more indulgent. It is well known that certain minds love an absolute king better than a constitutional king, whether he be called Louis XIV. or Louis XVI., Philip II. or Amadeo I. . . .

"Yonder door leading from the parlour, covered by a silk curtain, conducts to a little chapel or oratory, something that must not be wanting in

any Filipino house. There are the household gods of Captain Tiago, and we say *lares* because this gentleman really was inspired by polytheism and not monotheism, which he had never come to comprehend. Therein you may see images of the Holy Family, with bust and extremities of marble, eyes of glass, long lashes and curly blond hair, the exquisitenesses of the sculptor's shop in Santa Cruz. Paintings in oil by the artists of Pako and Ermita represent the martyrdoms of saints, miracles of the Virgin, etc.; Saint Lucia looking toward heaven and bearing on a plate two other eyes with lashes and eyebrows, like those one sees painted in the triangle of the Trinity or on Eygptian sarcophagi; Saint Pascual Bailon, San Antonio de Padua in a gingham habit, tearfully contemplating a Child Jesus dressed in the garb of a Captain-General, with three-cornered hat, sword, and boots, as in the children's ball at Madrid that character is represented. For Captain Tiago this all signified that, though God should add to his own power that of a Captain-General of the Philippines, the Franciscans would always play with him as with a wax doll. There is to be seen also a San Antonio Abad with a pig at his side, a pig which to the worthy Captain was as miraculous as the saint himself, on which account he never ventured to call it *pig*, but *creature of Saint Anthony*. There was a Saint Francis of Assisi with seven wings and coffee-coloured habit, placed up above a Saint

Vincent with only two wings but boasting of a little bugle; a Saint Peter the Martyr with his head cleft by a malefactor's *bolo*, in the grasp of an infidel on his knees, right by the side of another Saint Peter cutting the ear off a Moor, Malco no doubt, who is biting his lips and undergoing contortions of pain, while a rooster of the game-cock variety is crowing and flapping his wings on a doric column; from all of which Captain Tiago deduced that to be a saint it was all the same whether you clove the other's head or had your own split asunder . . . Who can enumerate that army of images and tell the qualities and perfections there treasured up? A whole chapter would not suffice. Nevertheless, we shall not pass by in silence a beautiful Saint Michael of gilded and painted wood, almost a meter high; the archangel, who is biting his lower lip, has eyes kindled with fire, a frowning front, and rose-coloured cheeks; he is hugging a Greek shield and brandishing in the right hand a Moro *kris*, ready to wound the devotee or whoever approaches (as is to be deduced from his look and attitude) rather than the long-tailed and horned devil that is sinking tusks in his maidenly legs. Captain Tiago never went near this, fearing some miracle. . . . Was it not said, too, that the Virgin of Luta of the town of Lipa had one cheek swollen more than the other and the edges of her robe muddied? Does not this prove mathematically that the sacred images take promenades

without lifting up their robes, and even suffer toothaches, perhaps on our account? Had he not seen with his own eyes all the Christs, at the time when the sermon of the Seven Words was being preached, bow their heads in unison and three times, causing an outburst of lamentation and weeping on the part of all the women and of the other souls with feeling and who were destined for heaven? More? We ourselves have seen the preacher show the congregation, at the moment of the descent from the cross, a handkerchief stained with blood, and were ourselves on the point of weeping from piety, when, to the misfortune of our soul, a sacristan assured us that it was all a joke; it was the blood of a chicken, cooked and eaten on the spot, in spite of it being Good Friday . . . and the sacristan was fat. Captain Tiago, then, in spite of being a prudent and religious man, took care not to approach the *kris* of Saint Michael. 'Let us avoid all risks,' he said to himself. 'I know he is an archangel, but I do not trust him.'

"He never let a year pass without attending the pilgrimage to Antipolo with his own orchestra in train. . . . His two masses would cost him something like four hundred *pesos*, but it was cheap, after all, if one considered the glory which the Mother of God acquired with the wheels of fire, crackers, bombs, salutes, etc., and the profits one would reap the rest of the year because of these masses. But Antipolo was not the only

theatre of his noisy devotion. In Manila, in Pampanga, and in the town of San Diego, when he was going to fight a cock with heavy wagers on him, he sent the curate gold moneys for propitiatory masses, and, like the Romans who consulted their augurs before a battle, giving food to the sacred fowls, Captain Tiago too consulted his augurs, with the modifications befitting the times and the new truths. He observed the flame of the candles, the smoke of the incense, the voice of the priest, etc., and from it all was able to deduce the fortune he was to have. It is a well-established belief that Captain Tiago loses few wagers, and these might be charged to the fact that the officiating priest was hoarse, there were few lights, the candles had too much tallow, or a false piece of money had slipped in among those that he paid over. . . .

"That Captain Tiago was in peace with the Government is a thing not to be doubted, however difficult an achievement it may seem to be. Incapable of conceiving, even in imagination, a new thought, content with his *modus vivendi*, he was always disposed to obey the last official of the fifth class in every one of the offices, to make present at all seasons of the year of hams, capons, ducks, Chinese fruits, etc. If he heard any one speak ill of the natives, he, who did not consider himself as such, turned himself to a chorus and spoke worse of them; if criticism was made of the Chinese half-castes or of the Spanish half-castes,

he criticised them too, perchance believing himself turned into a pure Iberian. He was first to applaud every impost or contribution, especially when he smelled a contract or a farming-plan behind it. He always kept orchestras ready at hand to congratulate with serenades from the street all sorts of governors, mayors, prosecuting attorneys, etc., upon their saints' days, birthdays, the birth or death of a relative—on every occasion, in a word, when for any reason the habitual monotony of events was altered. To this end he ordered written laudatory verses, hymns set for the celebration of the 'gentle and affectionate governor, valiant and tireless alcalde whom the palm of the just awaits in heaven,' and other phrases of the sort.

"He was governorlet of the rich Binondo *gremio* of half-castes, despite the protests of many who did not consider him a half-caste. In the two years of his rule he used up ten frock-coats, as many silk hats, and a half-dozen canes: the frock and silk hat in the council-chamber, at the Governor's palace, and in military headquarters; the silk hat and the frock at the cockpit, in the market, in processions, in the Chinese stores; and under the hat and inside the coat Captain Tiago, sweating with his fencer's manipulation of the gold-tasseled cane, disposing, arranging, and disarranging everything with an activity that was marvellous and a gravity that was more marvellous yet. So it was that the authorities saw in

him a good subject, possessed of the best of wills, peaceable, submissive, obedient, a flatterer, and one who never read any book or periodical from Spain, although he spoke Spanish well; they looked upon him with the feeling with which a poor student contemplates the worn-out heel of his old shoe, unevenly rounded by his way of walking. . . .

"The irreverent regarded him as a fool; the poor thought him devoid of compassion, cruel, an exploiter of misery and want; and his inferiors looked upon him as a tyrant and despot. And the women? Ah, the women! Calumnious rumours are muttered about among the cane houses, and sobs and cries are heard, sometimes with the wailing of an infant. More than one girl is pointed out by the malicious finger of the neighbours. . . . But these things do not disturb his sleep. . . ."

Here we have the typical Filipino cacique of the provinces, a bit exaggerated in some of the phases of his character. His lack of sympathy or self-identification with the masses below him, upon whom he plays for gain, is often the most striking feature of all. Not all the caciques of to-day are Captain Tiagos in respect to religious superstitions and obsequiousness in matters of politics. Among them have been and are men of some of the noisier of that class of Filipinos who have clamoured about independence without knowing how it was

to be achieved or how maintained if achieved. It is the tendency of the times in the Philippines to favour "reform," and many of the social aristocracy have followed the current for reform, or for independence, mainly so as not to seem to be out of fashion. Too often, these men have no real conception of reform, and what it must mean to be of value to the masses of the people. Under Spain they clamoured for greater political privileges for themselves, regardless of the inability of the masses to appreciate and utilise those privileges. The paper decrees of Mabini and the Malolos government, decreeing social reform with a preamble, were nullified by this sort of caciques, where not by the people's new petty military bosses. Under American rule, to-day, too often the men who from their position in the communities must be accepted as in large measure the spokesmen of their people have no real desire for the extension of greater political liberties to the masses or for the education of the masses to meet greater responsibilities. They are in many cases, unfortunately, of the sort who, in the sessions which the Taft Commission held in the provincial capitals when civil government was being organised in the provinces in 1901, would present sounding petitions in behalf of a "university" in the chief city of their particular province. The educational programme of the United States somewhat displeased them at the start, because it found room during the first two years for hardly

anything but the establishment of the primary schools, wherein the masses could be reached. The sons of the aristocracy continued quite commonly to be sent to the schools of the Jesuits and friars of Manila. Their greatest concern was for American secondary schools and colleges, wherein their sons might be taught all the new things which they vaguely conceived to be bound up with the term "progress." Sometimes they were even quite open in expressing their dissatisfaction with the eagerness that was manifested officially to get the "sons of the people" into the schools, and now and then a cacique of the old sort would bluntly declare that education would unfit these "peons" for work.

But there is no use in holding the cacique, who nowadays gets his journalistic scourgings with great regularity in the Philippines, responsible for all the abuses that prevail in that country. In his worst type, he is as bad, often much worse, than he has been painted above. But there are, among the men born to wealth and educational opportunities, among the families which must be counted as of the cacique class, some old men, and more of the young, who may be rated as patriotic and as desirous of seeing political progress that shall include the masses. If there were ten times as many as there are, there would still be too few to assure that all the local governments of the Philippines should be run as is contemplated in the law under which they are

organised. Where the masses below are incapable of expressing opinions or asserting their rights, government will always be more or less of a despotism, benevolent or the reverse. The old municipal *régime* in the Philippines was established squarely upon the basis of a petty aristocracy, within the ranks of which the offices rotated, and who collected the taxes from the masses and marshalled them in forced labour for the Government, either in its civil or its ecclesiastical branch —not uncommonly, as they still do to-day, after forced labour has been legally abolished, compelling the masses to work their fields or build their ditches for nothing. Even with the curtailing (as written into the law of 1893) of the powers of supervision possessed by the friar-curate, and the enlargement of the municipal structure by new titles and a more dignified organisation, not only was there no really popular representation in government—the people were not ready for that, and it could not have been realised as a practical fact under any scheme—but there was nothing about the reform which even looked toward popular representation. It was still a close corporation, though with a more precise definition and a somewhat wider scope of membership, which held the "elections" and chose the local rulers from among its own numbers.

In establishing municipal government in 1901, the Taft Commission had two things before it. The first was the plain fact that the masses of the

Filipinos were not fitted to exercise a share in governing their own communities. The second was that the revolutionary element demanded at least a theoretical recognition of the principle of self-government, and that to establish home rule in the towns so far as practicable to do so was consonant with American principles and practices. There were two ways in which the necessary compromise between fact and theory might be attempted. The ballot might have been conferred upon the masses, as in Mexico (where it is generally not used by them), leaving their votes to be commandeered by the caciques, with the resultant chances for making factional strifes among the rival caciques more bitter and the possibilities for corruption greater. The other course, which was followed, was to establish a barrier of property and educational qualifications about the ballot, admitting to the franchise those who had been numbered among the *principalía* under Spanish rule, those who possess real property to the amount of only five hundred dollars in silver, or those who pay taxes to the amount of thirty dollars silver annually, and, finally, also those who speak, read, and write the English or the Spanish language. Here the traditional caciques of the people were definitely recognised as the governing class, a recognition of existing fact which, under one form or another, would have to be made. But the ballot is open also to those who, without education perhaps, show industry and frugality

enough to acquire simply a reasonable amount of property, or a business which subjects them to the tax that would correspond to a middle-class income.

It is also open to those who have, in former times, obtained an education in Spanish, or to him who, with the new public schools to aid him, acquires an education in English under the new *régime*. It would be wholly illusory to dream of shattering the power of the caciques by conferring the ballot indiscriminately upon the masses, their peons in the main. There is some good reason to hope success from the plan of putting a premium, socially and otherwise, upon the possession of the ballot, while opening the way to it for the humbler native who will simply show more industry and economy than his brethren of the average sort and for the rising generation that shall come from the schools. If there shall not emerge, as the result of the following of this course of action, a generation of reasonably competent and patriotic Filipino voters, then it will be because no such generation can arise in the Philippine Islands. Back we come again, then, to the question of the capacity and the destiny of tropical peoples, which we can not settle out of hand, though there are plenty to dogmatise about it.

Popular education, the chief feature of the new *régime* in the Philippine Islands, is the greatest enemy to caciquism. Without it, even the most satisfactory economic progress, important as is

this sort of development, will not accomplish the programme the best radicals have in mind. Herein lies the chief argument for their co-operation with the American Government, and this is the line in which it has already in considerable degree been brought about. There are few even of the most enthusiastic Filipino dreamers who are so simple as to think that honesty, sobriety, and good morals generally, as well as the merits which spring from the possession of common-sense and practical wisdom, are all to be magically conferred by the learning of the alphabet or of all the mysteries that may be unlocked with that key. But they do regard the education to be got from good schools as the prime element in the social evolution they wish to see wrought among their people. Best of all, there may fairly be said to be enthusiasm among the masses themselves to get this somewhat dimly comprehended boon. It may be highly important in the Philippines to foster everything which will demonstrate the benefits, if not teach the dignity, of labour; but, if for no other reason than simply because the people will have it so, it is still more important to teach the dignity of personal worth, and to inculcate individual self-esteem. As the schools enter, the caciques and their domination must go on disappearing.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION AND PUBLIC OPINION

PRIOR to 1863, primary education in the Philippines consisted, one may say with a rough approximation to fairness, of the catechism and the little instruction in the Philippine dialects which was necessary in order for the pupils to read the catechism and the few religious books that were translated into the dialects, such as the books called the "Passion of Jesus Christ," *novenarios*, or books relating to special periods of worship in the religious calendar, miracle-tales, etc. The reform decrees of 1863 provided for the establishment in Philippine village schools of the same course of primary instruction as in Spain, a defective enough programme in itself, had it in fact ever been fully realised. The Jesuits, who had returned to the Philippines in 1859 and were establishing better secondary schools, were put in charge of normal schools for the instruction of Filipino teachers. Most significant of all, local school boards of a civil and lay character were ordered established, a feature of the decree which had not by any means been realised when the

municipal reform of 1893 was decreed, and which that reform itself did not accomplish. Theoretically, the friars were left in supervision only of religious instruction in the public schools; practically, in four towns out of five, they managed everything about the schools to suit their own will, down almost to the last hours of Spanish rule.

After 1863, and up to the American conquest, the catechism remained the chief feature of daily work in the primary schools, often relegating all else to an insignificant place—much depending upon the preparation, at best a scanty one, of the teacher. A badly printed little 150-page text-book, prescribed by the Government for the schools, was reader, writer, speller, arithmetic, geography, history of Spain and the world (Spain overshadowing), Spanish grammar (quite commonly not taught, because the teacher knew little or nothing of it), and handbook of religious and moral precepts (many pages). This book, moreover, shows how pitifully inadequate was the Filipino child's schooling at the very best; for often not even this text-book was employed, perhaps because the teacher was not prepared to use it. The advance in primary instruction from 1863 to 1896 was altogether notable, though the figures revealing it are largely superficial, after all, in their significance. The number of school buildings increased in the villages from seven hundred to twenty-one hundred, but the number of pupils

did not reach two hundred thousand, in all probability, as against one hundred and thirty-five thousand in 1866. The greatest advance was recorded in the training of a new class of more competent and better-equipped teachers. Still, even those of the teachers who had been trained in the normal schools were scarcely as well equipped with knowledge as an American child at the sixth grade. These same teachers are in many cases now being taught, in the new government normal schools, not only how to teach the common branches, but first have to be taught the common branches themselves, particularly arithmetic.

Beginning with 1585, there was a succession of royal decrees ordaining that the Philippine natives should be instructed in the Spanish language, primarily as the means for their acquiring an adequate understanding of the Christian religion. More or less deliberately, and more or less as a result of the necessities of the case, this programme was nullified by the friar-curates who so long absolutely directed educational affairs in the islands. The decree of 1863 provided that, after fifteen years, the two principal town offices should be held only by those who could speak, read, and write Spanish, and that, after thirty years, no Filipino not possessing these qualifications should be exempted from forced labour, be rated, that is, as one of the *principalía*, or village aristocracy. Coming on down to 1893, we find

Governor-General Blanco, in proclaiming the municipal reform that had been decreed in elaborate detail at Madrid, enjoining upon the municipal councils to employ "the most practical means for the diffusion of the Spanish language."

The friars maintained virtually complete control of secondary and higher instruction in the islands until they were lost to Spain in 1898. The reaction that followed the Liberal measures (some of them practical, some foolish) of 1863 to 1870 really strengthened the hold of the friars upon superior education (though one must take into account the competition from the Jesuits in Manila with which the disturbed Dominicans had to deal in increased degree each year). The secularisation of St. Thomas's University of Manila, which was decreed by a reform Government in 1870, ended only in the Dominicans practically absorbing into St. Thomas's the foundation and estates of St. Joseph's College, in former centuries the rival college maintained by the Jesuits. This is the property still in litigation in the Philippine Supreme Court between the Philippine Government and the metropolitan see of the Philippines. The Dominicans promised to devote the income of this endowment to courses in medicine and pharmacy, never before taught in the islands. In a report on the medical college made to the American authorities a few years ago, a German physician of Manila stated that it had no library worth considering, that some text-books dated

back to 1845, that no female cadaver had ever been dissected and the anatomy course was a farce, that most graduates never had attended even one case of confinement or seen a case of laparotomy, and that bacteriology had been introduced only since American occupation and was still taught without microscopes!

Prior to 1863, the curriculum of St. Thomas's University comprised, as the courses leading to the ordinary bachelor's degree, three in Latin grammar, three in philosophy, and six in theology, taught in the scholastic manner with the text-books of Spain's convents; under the faculty of Canon Law, there were, besides the foregoing, three courses in the canons and one in ecclesiastical discipline; the faculty of Civil Law (with lay professors) included, besides the same Latin and philosophy, two years of Roman Law, two of Civil Law in its various branches, one of Spanish legislation for the Indies, and forensic practice. The reforming committee appointed by the Government in 1863 amplified the scope of this "university" by adding to the curriculum the following subjects, some of which, however, were never taught: mathematics, lineal drawing, chemistry, universal history, Spanish history, geography, Greek, Hebrew, French, English, and bookkeeping. Shortly thereafter an English chemist was hired to coach the new "professor of chemistry," a friar unacquainted with his branch. The pressure of the little laboratories recently opened by

the Jesuits in Manila had begun to be felt, when, in 1863, the Rector of St. Thomas's offered to establish "a brief medical course, suited to the limited intelligence of the natives." A short time before a predecessor in the office had said: "Medicine and the natural sciences are materialistic and impious studies." A Filipino student of the sixties, who proposed a thesis on economic reasoning, was gravely warned that political economy was a "science of the devil." Again, as if to show how slowly mediævalism is to be overborne in such a stronghold, when in 1901 young Filipinos were beginning to go to the technical schools of England and the United States, the Rector of St. Thomas's announced a "course of engineering, taught by an English professor," — without laboratory and without mechanical equipment.

Fresh from contact with the masters of scientific research by the "laboratory method" in Germany, José Rizal wrote thus in *El Filibusterismo* of the teaching of physics in St. Thomas's University:

"The walls were entirely bare; not a drawing, nor an engraving, nor even any kind of a *representation* of an instrument of physics. On occasions there would be lowered from heaven an instrumentlet to be shown from afar to the class, like the Holy of Holies to the prostrate faithful: 'Look at me, but don't touch me.' From time

to time, when some complacent professor came, a day of the year was assigned for visiting the mysterious 'cabinet,' and admiring from afar the enigmatic apparatus arranged inside the cases. Then no one could complain; that day there were seen much brass, much glass, many tubes, disks, wheels, bells, etc. And the show stopped there, and the Philippines were not turned upside down. For the rest, the students are convinced that these instruments were not bought for them; merry fools would the friars be! The 'cabinet' was made to be shown to foreigners and to high officials from Spain, that, on seeing it, they may nod in approbation, while their guide smiles as if saying: 'You have been thinking you were going to find a lot of backward monks, eh? Well, we are at the height of the century; we have a 'cabinet'!"

"And the foreigners and high officials, obsequiously entertained, afterward wrote in their voyages or reports: 'The Royal and Pontifical University of St. Thomas, of Manila, in charge of the illustrious Dominicans, possesses a magnificent cabinet of physics for the instruction of youth. . . . There annually take this course some two hundred and fifty students; but, be it on account of the apathy, indolence, scanty capacity of the natives, or through any other cause whatsoever, ethnological or unperceivable, up to date there has not developed a Lavoisier, a Secchi, or a Tyndall, even in miniature, from the Philippine-Malay race!'"

In a half-dozen of the more important towns outside of Manila the religious orders and their sisterhoods established secondary schools for the Filipino boys and girls of the aristocracy—there was no chance for the children of the masses ever to attain to them. In recent years, some two-score of private schools, called secondary schools, though not always deserving the name, were started in various of the provincial towns by Filipinos who had passed through the Manila colleges. They were kept under close supervision by the friars, who had superior instruction entirely under their control, and their existence was more or less precarious politically, as the friar-controversy of recent years centred more and more about the control of the schools and the contention as to the capacity of the natives. A change of administration in a distinctively conservative sense might at any time result in the abolition of all private schools or their more complete absorption under the control of the Dominicans. It was thus that the agricultural schools, the school of arts and trades, and other efforts at trade instruction, proclaimed grandiloquently by the Government at Madrid at various intervals from 1868 onward, had really come to amount to very little before the end of Spanish rule in 1898. The convent schools for girls, alluded to, were really only places to learn sewing, embroidering, and a little music, aside from the constant religious instruction and oversight. The Filipino women, mostly

quite young, who may be said to-day to have received some degree of education beyond that of a strictly primary sort are the young women who graduated from the normal schools for the training of women teachers, supervised by the Jesuits and taught by Sisters of Charity.

Before passing to consider the state of education and educational affairs in the Philippine Islands to-day—in regard to which matters, one may say, more than in all other respects, the atmosphere has changed entirely, and the islands have entered upon a new era—it is worth while pausing to note that not all the impulse to the new progress in this direction has come from the outside, that, whatever the future may bring, the United States can never boast of having literally awakened the Filipinos to modern life and education. In *Noli Me Tangere*, published in 1886, Rizal's village philosopher says to the young Filipino who is talking with him of the possibilities for Philippine social reform:

"The country is not the same to-day as it was twenty years ago. . . . If you do not see it, it is because you have not seen the former state, have not studied the effect of the immigration of Europeans, of the entrance of new books, and of the going of the young men to study in Europe. It is true that the Royal and Pontifical University of St. Thomas still exists, with its most wise cloister, and certain intelligences still busy them-

selves in formulating the distinctions and threshing out to the final issue the subtleties of scholasticism. But where will you now find that metaphysical youth of our times, with an archaic education, who tortured his brain and died in full pursuit of sophistries in some remote part of the provinces, without ever having succeeded in understanding the attributes of *being*, or settling the question of *essence* and *existence*, concepts so lofty that they made us forget what was essential in life, our own existence and individuality? Look at the youth of to-day. Full of enthusiasm at the view of wider horizons, it studies History, Mathematics, Geography, Literature, Physical Sciences, Languages, all subjects that in our time we heard of with horror as though they were heresies; the greatest freethinker of my time declared all these things inferior to the classifications of Aristotle and the laws of the syllogism. Man has finally comprehended that he is man; he refuses to give himself over to the analysis of his God, to the penetration of the imperceptible, into what he has not seen, and to give laws to the phantasms of his brain; man comprehends that his inheritance is the vast world, dominion over which is within his reach; weary of a task that is useless and presumptuous, he lowers his gaze to earth and examines his own surroundings. . . . The experimental sciences have already given their first-fruits; it needs only time to perfect them. The lawyers of to-day are being trained in the

new teachings of legal philosophy; some begin to shine in the midst of the shadows which surround our courts of justice, and point to a change in the course of affairs. . . . Look you: the press itself, however backward it might wish to be, is taking a step forward against its will. The Dominicans themselves do not escape this law, but are imitating the Jesuits, their implacable enemies; they give *fiestas* in their cloisters, erect little theatres, write poesies, because, as they are not devoid of intelligence in spite of believing in the fifteenth century, they comprehend that the Jesuits are right and will continue yet to play a part in the future of the young peoples that they have educated.

"But are the Jesuits the companions of Progress? Why, then, are they opposed in Europe?

"I will answer you like an old scholastic. . . . One may accompany the course of Progress in three ways, ahead of her, side by side with her, and behind her. The first are those who guide the course of Progress; the second are those who are borne along by her; the last are dragged along, and among them are the Jesuits. Well would they like to direct her course, but, as they see her in the possession of full strength and having other tendencies, they capitulate, preferring to follow rather than be smothered or be left in the middle of the road without light. Well now, we in the Philippines are travelling along at least three centuries behind the car of Progress;

we are barely commencing to emerge from the Middle Ages. Hence, the Jesuits, reactionary in Europe, when seen from our point of view represent Progress; the Philippines owe to them their dawning system of instruction, and to them the Natural Sciences, the soul of the nineteenth century, as it has been indebted to the Dominicans for Scholasticism, already dead in spite of Leo XIII.—no Pope can revive what common sense has judged and condemned. . . . The strife is on between the past, which cleaves and clings with curses to the waning feudal castle, and the future, whose song of triumph may be faintly heard off in the distant but splendorous glories of a dawn that is coming, bringing the message of Good-News from other countries. . . ."

Fifteen years later, three years after the change of sovereignty over the Philippines was an established though not a confirmed fact, and just as American civil government was being inauguated in the archipelago, at the opening of the University of St. Thomas for a new year in June, 1901, the voice of reaction was again heard with unmistakable clearness from those cloisters. A friar-professor, himself one of the members of his order who shows good social breeding, and who is in many respects capable, as well as tactful and personally charming, delivered the opening address from the text of the *Pithecanthropus erectus*, or skeleton of primitive man discovered in Java;

he paid his respects to modern science in general, and to English and German anthropology and biology in particular, wiping Darwin, Haeckel, and other such men off the slate with quotations from the Bible and the saints of the Church.

It was characteristic even of American military rule in the Philippine towns that quite generally schools were given special attention, even while the work of restoring order was still going on. In the best of such instances, volunteer soldiers of good education were detailed to teach the Filipinos themselves and to help the Filipino teachers in ways of instruction. There was no comprehensive programme of education, however, until American civil government began to be established. Then it was the very first thing to which attention was paid, the Philippine Commission (that headed by William H. Taft), in fact, employing the men who were to inaugurate their educational campaign before they left the United States *en route* for the Philippine Islands.

Characteristically American was also the determination from the very outset that it was the education of the masses which primarily required attention. Upon this decision has followed, naturally and logically, all the other features which have come to form what is called "American educational policy" in the Philippines. Foremost among these have been the disputed measures of bringing to the Philippines a small army of American school-teachers, men and

women, and of basing the course of instruction purely upon the English language, inaugurating instruction with English text-books everywhere as rapidly as teachers were available who could use that tongue. Had it not been felt that the new *régime* should afford equal privileges and opportunities to all the youth of the country, not reserving the favours of real education for the favoured few of the aristocracy, it would have been easy to let the Filipino teachers, in general wretchedly prepared, continue to instruct the children in the Malay dialects, giving them reading, writing, and rudimentary arithmetic. American teachers could have been employed only for the gradual betterment of the teaching force by the conduction of normal schools, and for the instruction of the sons of the favoured few who could go beyond the primary course. That would have been an excellent way of helping the continuance of caciquism. The critics who thought that, because Spanish was being kept as the medium of instruction in Cuba and Porto Rico, it should also be so retained in the Philippines, never stopped to find out that, while Spanish of one sort or another is the language of the masses in Cuba and Porto Rico, it is not understood, to the extent that will make conversation in it intelligible and satisfactory, by ten per cent. of the people of the Philippine Islands.

Other critics conceived instruction in English in the Philippines to be undertaken in consequence

of some zealot's dream for changing utterly and radically the common speech of a whole people, and spoke and wrote as if they thought that here was a piece of political bravado indulged in purely for effect, or by some simple souls who knew naught of past history and the weight of authority against them. The education of the former *régime* had, though a majority of the Christian population could read and write, been wofully deficient and inefficient, in the many ways just indicated. To repeat, but from five to ten per cent. of the Christianised population could speak Spanish sufficiently to conduct a real conversation in it, and those who could so speak it were, in the main, the wealthy few of the villages and the better-class Filipinos of Manila. The masses were unreached (except by religion, and in that carried little beyond superstition) and ignorant. No plan which did not primarily aim at reaching below and bringing them up could be worthy of the name American. How reach them? The majority of the native teachers had not themselves received the amount of primary instruction which it is thought in the United States that every child should be *compelled* to have; and their ideas and methods were, not through their own fault at all, not only unmodern but frequently also anti-modern.

No real text-books existed in any of the Philippine dialects; only catechisms, forms of prayer, fairy tales, almanacs, alleged grammars of the

dialects prepared by early friars, who were plainly not philologians, were the things constituting the so-called Tagalog literature, Bisayan literature, etc. Recently, to be sure, some more enterprising and intelligent natives have made translations of a slightly more important sort, in a few instances, and have started newspapers in the dialects; and now there are faulty versions of the Gospels in most of the dialects. But these things, if multiplied considerably, would still be only a drop in the bucket. There is, in short, no literature, worthy being described by that term, in any of the Philippine dialects. It had been decided that the United States owed a duty to the Filipinos to stay by them. It was deemed better to have faith in their capacity to develop, and to profit by a fair chance in life, than to assume that they are doomed to remain for ever inferior beings, are intellectually incapable of reaching the white man's level. It was felt that this great experiment, based on a faith so humane, ought to be begun at the bottom, with a system of primary education which could be real and efficient, and should reach the greatest possible number, while at the same time it should be of the sort to prepare the way for modern intermediary and high-school work, and eventually also university courses. It was perfectly plain that no such comprehensive plan for the present and future of the Filipinos could be carried out except with one of the great modern languages of civilisation, and with a force

of American teachers to inaugurate the work. English is already the trade-language of the entire Orient.

These statements are made categorically, because, to those who know the conditions, there are not two sides to the question. The fact of the matter is, it is simply impossible to plan any comprehensive educational scheme, or even to undertake any educational reform in the Philippines, and attempt to work through the native dialects. The present greatest obstacle to the expression of the rising sentiment of nationality,—an obstacle greater even than the faulty system of communication, is the lack of a common language except among the few of the upper class. But who would think of selecting as a favourite one of the eight Malay dialects spoken in the Christian provinces, dialects which are imperfectly developed types of the agglutinative Mongolian tongues and one of which has its own subdivisions, and setting that up as the standard language for all Filipinodom? It would certainly be little easier than to establish English as the common medium. And whence would come the army of Filipino savants to polish this dialect, Tagalog let us suppose, to create in it a literature, to put into it the best works of ancient and modern writers, to give it a scientific terminology, and to write the history of the world and of the Philippines over into it? The very written form of it, used when the Spaniards came, has been lost and forgotten except as

a philological curiosity, and it is written and printed in the characters of the European alphabet, while its stock of new ideas, representing knowledge acquired in the Philippines since the coming of the Spaniards, is expressed in words of Spanish origin.

Hence, American teachers were summoned to the Philippines, by the boatload at first. Gradually, their chief duty, as regards the majority of them, who are still concerned with primary instruction, has come to be the supervision of the Filipino teachers. The typical Filipino town is presided over, in matters of education, by an American teacher, the larger towns often by him and his wife, who supervise the work of the schools as conducted by Filipino teachers, instructing the latter and teaching English to the pupils of night schools, and so far as possible or necessary to the primary pupils of the day schools. A minority of the American teachers are engaged in intermediary and high-school instruction, in which a beginning has been made in every province and considerable already achieved in a few provinces, and in the task of supervising the schools of an entire province or other district. The advanced instruction is but fairly getting under way, however, as for two years the efforts of American teachers and supervisors were bent almost solely upon primary instruction. In an address to the school supervisors in December, 1904, Doctor David P. Barrows, General

Superintendent of Education in the Philippines, summarised the different features of the American educational programme as follows:

"1. To place primary instruction within the reach of every child in the Christian provinces of the archipelago.

"2. To organise all parts of every Christian province into school districts in charge of competent supervising teachers, who shall see that uniform school organisation is carried out, which shall embrace every municipality, and eventually every considerable *barrio*.

"3. To train a sufficient number of Filipino young men and women as teachers, and to so perfect the service of the Filipino teacher that there will open before him a dignified, properly compensated profession, constantly enriched by new stores of instruction and widening experience.

"4. To organise in every large municipality or group of municipalities an intermediate school for the continuance of the fundamental educational work of the primary course, and to give every boy and girl in attendance that industrial training in tool-shop, garden, and home, which is so manifestly needed by the population and whose importance has been repeatedly emphasised. In addition to the intermediate schools, which form the preparatory departments of each provincial school, at least sixty new intermediate schools situated outside of provincial capitals will be

A PURE TAGALOG TYPE OF THE LOWER CLASS GIRL OF MANILA

A PURE-BLOOD GIRL OF THE RISING MIDDLE CLASS, IN BEST ATTIRE

needed for the proper instruction of the pupils of the islands before the end of two years.

"5. To establish in every province a provincial high school, with the five departments of instruction enumerated by law, which high schools shall be in fact technical training-schools, preparing the young people of the islands for useful life professions or for entrance into a college or university of American type. There are at the present time thirty-eight of these provincial high schools organised in thirty-five provinces, Manila having three. . . .

"6. To further develop, along the excellent lines which they are now pursuing, the three technical schools established by the insular government at Manila—Philippine Normal School, the Philippine School of Arts and Trades, and the Philippine Nautical School.

"7. To prepare the way thus, by the thorough establishment of a system of primary and secondary instruction in the islands, for the establishment of the Philippine University."

It has been charged that the new programme, as regards primary instruction, was both too pretentious and too impracticable on other grounds, one in fact which the resources of the Government and the condition of the people make it impossible ever to realise. It is in fact a modest programme. Estimating the number of Filipino school children of the ages to be reached as 1,800,000, it aims to

provide teachers and schools in sufficient numbers, and distributed widely enough, so that each child will have the opportunity for three years of primary instruction during that period of his life lying between six and fifteen years. In other words, only about 600,000 pupils need be provided for, as to buildings, supplies, and teachers, at any one time in the primary course. The number of Filipino teachers has now increased to over five thousand. To realise the programme outlined, six thousand or six thousand five hundred were needed; and they were being trained in the American schools themselves, in the character of *aspirantes*, while the revenues to pay them might be counted on in part from the new income to be derived from the internal revenue law of 1904, which devotes a portion of its proceeds to the town treasuries for school purposes. The next question is, can the pupils themselves be expected? This question has practically settled itself.

In September, 1903, returns showed 182,202 pupils enrolled in the public schools of the archipelago. During 1904, the enrolment increased rapidly, from 227,600 in March to 263,974 in July, and 342,000 in September. The best estimates available for December, 1904, indicated approximately 338,000 pupils in the public primary schools of the archipelago, with 26,000 more pupils in the schools of the Moro provinces, the night schools for adults, the intermediate and high

schools, and the three technical schools for Manila. These figures had increased respectively to 480,000 and 30,000 (approximate estimates), or a total enrolment of 510,000, in April, 1905. The total enrolment, then, had doubled in a little more than one year, and has continued to increase rapidly, and the figures of the census of 1903 were in a few months made obsolete, except as they are indicative of certain things. Some of the things shown by that census are, however, of a general significance, although a new chapter must be written on this subject every few months to keep up with the development of affairs. Of the total number enrolled in all Philippine schools at the time of the census, viz., 356,385, not less than 96 per cent. were in primary schools, with only 3.9 per cent. in secondary schools and 0.1 per cent. in institutions for higher education. Boys constituted three-fifths of the total number of scholars, and girls only two-fifths, the idea of educating girls or giving them quite the same opportunities as boys not yet being fully recognised in the Philippines. Already, after two years of the experiment with English, 11 per cent. of the pupils were estimated to understand English as against 11.8 per cent. who understood Spanish. This census showed the enrolment of the public schools to be 266,362, or 74.8 per cent. of the total numbers of pupils in school in the archipelago, 63,545 being at that time in private schools and 26,478 in church schools. The springing

up of private schools, not only in Manila but the provincial towns, and affording primary instruction as well as secondary instruction, generally of the most faulty type, it is regrettable to say, is one of the features of the times. In part, this foundation of private schools answers to the feeling of some parents that the American public schools are "godless," though the schools started by Roman Catholic priests are those designed primarily to combat purely secular instruction, and the figures show their relative unimportance.

On the other hand, a large number of the private foundations have sprung into existence within these few years past as one of the expressions of the feeling of "Filipino nationality." There is plenty of work for all the schools to do, and no need for a quarrel between them; with a fair field for competition, the best methods, as indicated by the best results, will win. Generally speaking, the above rehearsal of figures goes to show that the Filipino people are cordially supporting the new American public schools (a fact for which there are innumerable other proofs of the times), and that the young generation is fairly swarming into them, as each month the public-school system reaches out more and more into the *barrios* of the towns, which were in large measure not reached by the primary schools under Spanish domination.

So much for the physical and financial possibility of reaching the oncoming generation of

Filipinos with primary schools. Is the course of instruction itself too pretentious, and what can be expected from it? Once more, Doctor Barrows is the best spokesman:

"The course of primary instruction gives, first, three years' study of the English language; in these three years our experience teaches us that the Filipino child learns to understand English and to speak it with considerable facility and accuracy. He learns enough so that he will never give it up as a medium of communication. He learns to read with sufficient fluency so that periodical literature and books of simple English are not beyond his understanding. His thought is broadened from the narrow circle of interests in which his ignorance has previously confined him, and he is liberated from that social and mental bondage in which he has previously existed.

"In the second place, this course of primary instruction gives two years of work in arithmetic, enough to enable the boy to understand the ordinary computations in which the simple business of his life is conducted. He can gain enough knowledge of numbers and arithmetical computations to avoid being swindled and outdone in every commercial transaction in which he has a part. He can learn something of the laws governing purchase and sale, of loans, advances on crops, of interest, of commission, and something

of the rights of a man in such business operations. Two years of instruction in arithmetic given to every child will in a generation destroy that repellent 'peonage,' or bonded indebtedness, that prevails throughout this country.

"In the third place, this primary course gives at least one year of elementary geography, in which the child may learn something of the world at large, its countries and peoples, and a good deal of the archipelago which constitutes his native land.

"These studies, together with the moral and physical training that accompany our school work, make the child who finishes the primary school a person of far different possibilities from the man whose education never arises beyond that of the routine toil that constitutes a peasant's life and whose range of vision scarcely passes beyond the confines of his *barrio*. If we can extend this system so that it shall include four hundred thousand children, and give this instruction for the space of ten years, we will practically do away with ignorance in the Philippine Islands, and there should be no such thing as illiteracy among the rising generation."

This is closely similar to the scheme of primary instruction in Japan, which is a three-year course. And, despite the eight-year course of primary instruction in the United States, the average child

through the country at large has only four and one-half years of schooling.

The programme of intermediary instruction, also covering a short course of three years, is only fairly under way. Its aim is to carry forward the primary studies and give more thorough instruction in English grammar, elementary arithmetic, elementary geography, and civil government of the Philippines, with a considerable amount of supplementary reading in easy English literature, and in historical and descriptive narrative. But also, and here enters the feature which may be said to be new to the Philippines, the intermediary course offers three years of elementary-science instruction carried on so far as possible according to the laboratory method: the first year in plant studies, the second year in animal life, and the third year in human anatomy and physiology. The importance of the early inauguration of this work is apparent, from a purely mental point of view, in the light of the doubts that are cast upon the capacity of the Filipinos ever to become anything more than imitators and memorisers, apt at the studies of language, history, etc., but not capable of advancing far in studies which demand the exercise constantly of the reasoning faculties. But the simpler scientific studies chosen for beginning this work are such as to aid in the effort to apply the knowledge gained in the classroom to the actual problems of country and of trade. Moreover

along with these laboratory or classroom studies, there are given to the boys three years of shop work or three years of agricultural work, or two years of shop work and one of agricultural work, or two years of agricultural work and one of shop work; and to the girls, three years of practical housekeeping, the course being accompanied with the employment of a model Philippine house of cane and thatch, properly constructed and furnished with a view to comfort as well as cheapness, and wherein and about which especial attention will be paid to sanitation.

It is in the intermediary schools that the plan of industrial education must be carried out. There is no room for it in the primary schools, and there are neither teachers nor equipment sufficient to undertake it there, if it were entirely desirable on other grounds. Presumably, the pick of Filipino children will advance from the primary to the intermediary schools, and there they will be prepared to profit by the instruction in manual training, in practical Philippine agriculture, and in household science adapted to the tropics. The value of instruction of the Filipino masses in the necessities of sanitation will be understood by all who have seen the conditions, and may be partially indicated by the fact that, in more than one place, the outbreak of cholera in 1902 was ascribed to the poisoning of wells by the Americans, the friars, or other foreigners, and that the families of the poor would always seek to hide their sick

and to bury them secretly rather than undergo the disinfection of their houses and the isolation of exposed members of the family by the American health authorities. Every such epidemic offers up its victims by the hundreds, even thousands, to ignorance and credulity. But this is only a part of the story. The malpractices of childbirth, the faulty nourishment and bad handling of children in infancy, and the thousand and one practices that contribute to the spread and virulency of diseases of all sorts among adults, are so many evils due in large part to ignorance and crying for remedy so far as a diffusion of popular knowledge can remedy them. Naturally, not all these things can be reached directly by instruction in the schools; but some of them may be so reached, and the gain will be great in so far as the popular attitude of ignorance and superstition is overcome.

This special attention to the training of the hands is carried up into the high schools established in the provincial capitals. The law contemplates that these shall be primarily technical or semi-professional schools. If the programme now in its beginnings shall be successfully realised, the pupil who has passed through the high-school course may come out as an agriculturist of a comparatively skilled sort, competent to handle the affairs of an estate and to promote the agricultural development of his country; or as a school-teacher, ready for work among his own

people in the Philippine schools; or as a master mechanic in either wood or iron working; or as the graduate of a commercial course, qualified to serve the Government or private business interests; or, upon the academic side, he may have completed four years of training in literature, history, and the sciences, equipping him to enter college as a candidate for the bachelor's degree, either in the United States or in the future Philippine University. In part for lack of such an institution, and in part because of the many benefits to be derived from the closer contact of Filipinos with American educational methods at home, nearly two hundred young Filipinos are now being sustained by the Government of the Philippine Islands in normal, technical, and professional schools of the United States, studying for careers of practical use to their people.

The central school of arts and trades at Manila, connected with which there is also the apprenticing of young Filipinos to all the branches of modern typography in the new government printing office at Manila, is head and centre of the arts and trades instruction for the archipelago. The agricultural school on Negros Island is not yet fairly inaugurated. The claim that industrial education is being neglected in order to launch the Filipinos upon a pursuit after knowledge that shall not be of practical use to them is quite without validity, as will have appeared. It is true, for reasons that will have developed in this chap-

ter and the one preceding on caciquism in the islands, that there is a deliberate attempt to educate the mind before the hand, and a faith in the possibility of teaching the Filipino something of the dignity of man as well as of the much talked of "dignity of labour." To be sure, much of the programme which has been treated in the foregoing paragraphs is still quite largely in the future, let alone the coming university, with its medical, engineering, and other technical schools, as well as its academic course (with which course alone, and that of a mediæval sort, the Filipinos have until lately been acquainted). But it is proper to take all these things into account in considering the life of the Filipinos to-day, and it is significant to find Doctor Barrows declaring:

"The encouraging feature of our work is that we are planning and labouring for a people of no mean spirit and no small ambition. The Filipino is quite as eager and ambitious as his successful neighbour, the Japanese, and appears disposed to make no less sacrifices in behalf of his progress. It is in the work of the Bureau of Education that his progress fundamentally and always rests. Material benefits can neither be taken advantage of nor enjoyed by a people illiterate and ignorant. Development of markets and of trade only accompany higher standards of life, and higher standards of life proceed nowhere so quickly as from an advance in education. The successful issue

of the public Government inaugurated in this country rests more than anything else on the work done in the schools. If the work done by the Bureau of Education succeeds, the American Government implanted in these islands will succeed.

"The experiment in which we are engaging is not only as noble and as splendid as that in which any party of men can participate, but it is also significant for the future of civilisation in Asia. It is worthy of receiving the very last meed of devotion and the sacrifice even of life itself. Our work is to plant here the result of American democracy and to justify its ideals. We are here to promote a better understanding between the races and to bring about a thorough spiritual accord between the men of the East and the West, in which our own nation shall be the leader.

"Whether or not the political authority of the United States shall for ever continue in these islands, or shall extend beyond them, may be for difference of opinion; but if the ideals for which American democracy stands are to prevail in the world, the educational mission of our nation must succeed."

There you have the bold and enthusiastic challenge of a man who, though close in daily contact with every element of the Philippine problem and every class and sort of Filipinos, yet believes that

what is being attempted in the Philippines is not the "Jeffersonian ideals foolishness" that has been condemned by certain critics, British and American. This is the attitude which refuses to accept as fairly established any dogmatic assertions regarding the capacity of the Filipinos, and sets to work to "give them a chance." It is not the less compatible with a fair and square recognition of the defects of the Filipino social medium and of the Filipino himself to-day. These must be recognised and dealt with both by the Government and by the individual who come in contact with them. One need not juggle figures, as was done recently by a writer with a decidedly adverse opinion regarding Filipino possibilities, in order to make these people out more illiterate than they are. Counting all the unsettled parts of the archipelago, and including the figures estimated to cover the number of Mohammedan and pagan inhabitants, one might make a superficial showing to the effect that nearly ninety per cent. of the people of the Philippines are illiterate; but then, it would be only by refusing to recognise as literate the large proportion of Christian inhabitants who can read but not write, and by counting young children in the total of population. Of the Filipinos over ten years of age in the provinces that are spoken of as Christianised, forty-five per cent., or not quite one-half, can read, if not both read and write. The education of the religious schools, laying special stress upon the ability to

read the catechism and memorise it, and to read forms of prayers and other religious books, left a large proportion of the pupils who received its benefits without any instruction in penmanship. One may fairly say that approximately one-half the Christian population over ten years of age is literate. But this includes the people of the most backward and outlying Christian settlements, in the mountains of north central Luzon, in unsettled islands like Mindoro and Palawan, and on the outskirts of Mindanao.

In the Tagalog provinces, where the percentage of literacy is highest, the number able to read is sometimes over seventy per cent. of the population above ten years of age, and there are individual towns in the most advanced districts where the proportion is higher, while over half the population of some of these towns can both read and write after a fashion. But one might draw altogether unwarranted conclusions from such statistics and, as already stated, it is as unnecessary as it is literally incorrect to insist upon the existence of a high percentage of illiteracy among the Filipinos. Ability to read means very little in a society where the people have had nothing to read worthy of being called a "literature." The number of Filipinos who have in the past obtained an insight into the doings of the great world outside, through ability to read Spanish and access to even the poorest of Spanish sources of information, has been beyond doubt less than ten per

cent. of the total Christian population. One may be struck by the significance of the eagerness which workmen around Manila will often display to read any scrap of a newspaper or other document printed in Tagalog that may come their way; but, to get a fair conception of the state of the Filipinos as they are, he must not build large conclusions upon the quite widespread ability to read, or technical literacy of the Filipinos, as one might say.

After all that has gone before, it would be superfluous to point out here that there is no "public opinion" in the Philippines, having the significance which this much-used term has in newspaper-reading communities, where the people's sentiment and will are eventually, if but imperfectly, transformed into the Government's law. The mass of the Filipinos have in the past not seen or known anything beyond the cluster of huts which fall within their horizon, and they have lived in subjection and servility even therein. The emergence from that state had begun before the revolt against Spain in the Tagalog districts about Manila and in some other limited areas where progress had been greatest in recent years. But, even in those districts, the nine following years of warfare and unrest have not in themselves sufficed to create a people with an intelligent opinion, and the most advanced Tagalog communities are still boss-driven herds, though they have new military idols and agitator-bosses

in many instances in place of the traditional bosses of the aristocracy.

The Filipino press is only a part of the press of the Philippines, though to-day the larger part; but we have not to do here with the survivals of the Spanish journalism that was once so intolerantly domineering in the islands, nor with the American newspapers which have sprung up since the invasion of American soldiers, most of them highly discreditable to the name American, reeking of the cheapest of cheap race-prejudice, and of the manners and gossip of the saloons which are the rendezvous of the type of Americans who are mostly concerned in publishing and reading them, viz., adventurers and riffraff. There have been two or three honourable exceptions to this general description of American publications, but, with reference particularly to Manila, the "American journalism" of 1899 to 1905 has been a disgrace and an injury to the nation's interests.

Since 1898, and the beginning of the Filipino revolutionary publications, Filipino journalism has gradually been coming into its own. It is a very serious, and sometimes a very humorously serious, institution; but it gives promise, and has indeed already borne fruits of a sort not to be expected from the soil from which it sprang and the atmosphere in which it was at first nourished. Filipino journalism in the time of the revolution was, of course, extreme and violent; and of this

there is at least the tendency left. But *La Democracia*, the organ of the Federal party, and *El Renacimiento*, which is an independent daily newspaper printed in both Tagalog and Spanish, really representing the Nationalist sentiment and the intellectual radicals, are journals of which the Filipino people may well be proud, as marking achievements in independent, outspoken journalism of practically only the four years past, during which freedom of the press has been a fact. This is not to say that they are models of newspapers, even for the present state of society in the Philippines. But they reach a fair standard of merit in dignity, general good-temper and, quite commonly, usefulness in criticism (for *Democracia*, too, though the pro-governmental organ among the Filipinos, is merely the organ through which the governmental side of measures may be presented to the public, and does not hesitate to criticise measures of general policy or acts of government officials). Sometimes the criticisms are petty and puerile, or based on the worst of bad information or a deficient knowledge of public affairs; occasionally, in *Renacimiento*, one must even question a little the good faith of the criticism, or charge it to the freak of some contributor's overdeveloped intellectual egotism. Generally, it is the manner, rather than the matter, that one finds either amusing or distasteful, it being a bad imitation of Spanish journalistic style, which is quite too often simply bombast. Again, we have

a very bad style covering nothing at all, no substance, no "meat." We are reminded of some of Rizal's delicious reproductions of the bombastic journalism of the old-time Spanish "journalists" of Manila when we read, in a contribution on the awakening of the Filipino race, these sentences:

"That lethargic slumber of more than three hundred years had a violent awakening. The terrible cancer that was gnawing the entrails of our society had so spread through all its organs, infecting the blood circulating through them, that the patient, despairing of finding a remedy in some clever surgical operation and lacking confidence in the miracles to be wrought by the surgeon's knife, resolved of himself to apply the cautery that should exterminate the evil that was slowly threatening his existence. Nobody ever believed that he could adopt such a determination. *Bolo* in hand, he began to sever the members that most troubled him and that were corrupted by gangrene. The blood gushed forth in torrents, inundating our fields, and the mutilated members of that old society lay scattered over the blood-reddened mountains of Luzon and the Bisayas . . .

"What do we behold to-day? The disseminated sparks and atoms of luminous gases which, like the brilliant flashes of an invisible creative force, cross the immensity of space, drawing us insensibly along to put forth all the activity of

which we are capable in accordance with our ethnical nature. In all directions we see rise up energetic and enterprising hearts; noble initiatives and the most lofty enterprises succeed one the other, and the spirit of association spreads even among the lowest classes of society. What is it that most strikes upon our attention? A devouring fever, an insatiable thirst, a veritable zeal on the part of our people to instruct and educate themselves in all the branches of human knowledge. In many dwellings, in the bosom of many, many families, there are taking place to-day most rude and violent combats between darkness and light, between Knowledge and Ignorance, between illiteracy and science; but no dike can hold back this impetuous current of civilisation that is finding its ways into all the homes, and is sweeping out of them fanaticism, superstition, laziness and vice. . . . I see the future nation, solid, homogeneous and free, raise its front heaven-high and intone with mighty tongue the cosmopolitan hymn of triumph and glory. I see it exercising influence upon the destinies of the Orient, realising the prophecies of its apostles, the prophecies of its redemption. I see it, finally, taking its seat in the chorus of the other nations and finding in that circle the ardent and noble embrace of universal union and fraternity!"

A good deal of Filipino enthusiasm simply

expends itself in rhetoric of this sort, which leaves little energy for practical accomplishments beyond the sweep of its words, words, words. But it should not be overlooked also that, in the very symposium on Filipino aspirations from which the above was quoted, there was also this pithy contribution by another young Filipino, a Manila lawyer who has his enthusiasms, but has also practical sense:

"I believe that the directors of our people ought to consider that it is better at the present time to cultivate and strengthen the character of the individual members of our society, with a view to developing men, than it is to discuss self-evident ideals, the more or less speedy realisation of which is to be confided to the future.

"The future is always the natural outcome of the present. We ought not to waste our time in contemplation of the future when there are so many things to be attended to in the present."

Several other Filipino daily newspapers, which lead a more or less irregular existence, and whose aims and merits are sometimes dubious, are published at Manila. There are several weekly publications also, both in Spanish and in Tagalog, notably the organ of the Independent Philippine Church and of the Workingmen's Union. In Iloilo and Sebú the conditions of Filipino journalism in Manila are reproduced on a lesser scale,

there being one Filipino publication in each town which is altogether creditable to the times and the people. Newspapers, generally weekly, are always more or less ephemeral in other towns of the archipelago, but it is altogether a sign of the times that the more ambitious of the provincial towns are beginning to bid for the services of the printing-press, and first of all for the little newspaper it may put forth. The total circulation of the newspapers printed in the Spanish language, together with the little papers printed wholly in one or other of the dialects of the Philippines, barely reaches 50,000. Only a fraction of the educated few who have in the past acquired the Spanish language and habits of reading are direct subscribers to a periodical therefore.

The "spirit of association," as has been said, is indeed abroad in the land to-day. There would seem to be many Filipinos who think that the remedy for every evil is to be found in forming a club, or league, or political party, and thundering against the evil in the preamble, quite as Mabini dreamed of bringing about a social reform by revolutionary decrees and of remaking the masses by giving them a "True Decalogue," in Tagalog, a decalogue wherein racial unity was preached more strongly than universal brotherhood. The character of the numerous new associations in Manila, their dangers, and the good which they may do in furnishing scope for activities that might display themselves in more harmful ways,

have been described in the chapter on Manila. Manila is the head and front of all these things, of all intellectual activity in the islands, even in greater degree than of internal and external commerce, and such associations as there are in the provinces have mainly spread from the capital. They range from associations for the reform of the native dialects and study of native institutions to political organisations pure and simple, whose real aim may be veiled or may be quite openly stated as "ultimate independence," for instance. As in the case of the press, association is about as free under the law as it is in the United States.

The libel and sedition laws forbid absolutely secret associations, for one thing, and they make criminal libel an offence capable of a rather wider extension than could be the case in any of the States of the American Union. What practically restricts that full liberty of association and of speech, which sometimes amounts to license in the United States, but which it is believed better to tolerate there than to court the possibility of tyranny by restricting, is the practical difference in the conditions between the two countries. The issue of free speech is no issue at all in the United States, because conditions make it impossible for it to be so. It would have to be a matter for some measure of oversight in the Philippines, no matter what government were set up there or what laws regarding it might be adopted. Every government must and will protect itself. In the

Philippines a rather superabundant proportion of demagogues is found to-day, the activities of whom cannot be tempered by the exercise of an intelligent public opinion, for this does not yet exist there. The laws are quite closely similar, as indicated, to those which lie in most cases as dead-letter on the statute-books of the American States; but in the Philippines, under the different conditions, appeal to them has been rendered necessary in a few cases. A wise discretion is undoubtedly always to be recommended in matters of speech and association, and undoubtedly more harm is done by any prosecution that may savour a tall of persecution than good could result from it. Such a mistake has been made in the Philippines once or twice under American occupation; prosecuting and police officers, ambitious to make a record or full of a shallow omniscience about the situation, sometimes overstrain the limits of discretion. In general, however, as the newspapers and other publications of Manila will show, the demagogues, as well as the true Filipino reformers, have quite complete freedom of speech. The history of the Philippines will show, to him who will study it observantly, how foolish would be any revival of censorship. It is well to have it known that there is a stern rule to which to apply in the case of malicious or designing misrepresentation, as well as to deal harshly with the men who, while talking of "patriotic" designs before the masses, are simply robbers and

plunderers of their fellows. But, in general, the Filipino people must be left to work out its own welfare or ruin in its own way; and, if it is not to be ruin, the evil the demagogues do must be neutralised by the leadership of the sane and the rise of a new generation not so susceptible to false leadership as is the present.

For in the Philippines, as in no country or community, is "public opinion" entirely lacking, nor does it fail to fill some place. The emphasis has here been laid on the want of an *intelligent* public opinion in the Philippines. The people did not fight side by side, or practise in many districts almost unanimous deceit in support of the guerillas, without acquiring some unity of sentiment. He would be a rash outsider who would venture to assert that the Filipino people, down into the masses, except in the most retrograde regions, do not to-day cherish an ideal of nationality and independence. Certainly, the Western, who has here and there had the veil of secrecy covering the stoicism of the humble Filipino lifted a little before his eyes, will hesitate before he dogmatises about "the masses of the Filipinos not caring about independence." But it is beyond question a fact that it is the dimmest and haziest sort of an ideal for the vast majority of Filipinos. What direction it will take in the future, and how far it will have to be reckoned with as time brings, perchance, a Filipino concensus that we may fairly term "intelligent public opinion," is a

question the solution of which hangs not only upon the development of the Filipinos themselves, but also to some degree upon the course of events outside those islands.

CHAPTER VIII

TRIBAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INFLUENCES TOWARD DISUNION

IN order to get at the truth as to the homogeneity of the Christian Filipinos and the degree to which they possess sentiments of union, one must, as usual, steer a middle course between the contradictory estimates of those who have made them out but a congeries of tribes and those who have constructed them, out of hand, into a living and breathing nation, a single people. On both sides of the question, too, we find the opinions of hasty observers and of library writers who have never seen the Filipinos. Already enough has been brought out in preceding chapters to prove that there has developed in recent years considerable of the feeling of nationality, at least among the educated class of Filipinos, and we have been led to suspect its existence, even though in a rather crude way, among the hitherto dumb masses. But it would not be proper to overlook the various influences which have in the past made for disunion among the Filipinos, and which will to some extent continue to operate in that direction.

In the first place, there is the much-mooted difference in languages. It is a practical difference, and a serious obstacle to unity, as will have been shown in the chapter on education. Nevertheless, the condition in this respect has been made out much worse on paper than it is in fact. The eighty Philippine tribes of Blumentritt shrink, according to a fair classfication made on the spot, to eight divisions of Christian Filipinos according to language, six to eight tribes of the "Moros," or Philippine Malays who have been Mohammedanised, and fourteen pagan tribes of various conditions and habitats, aside from the negligible Negritos. The number of tribes classified among the pagans of the Philippines, perhaps also among the Mohammedans, might readily be increased—almost indefinitely, indeed—if one were to make the basis of classification the language alone and were to recognise as valid all the dialectical differences between petty community and petty community. But on any fair linguistic basis of classification, practically all the Igorots, so-called, of the mountains of north central Luzon will be grouped as one people, just as they may be so grouped on other cultural and on physical grounds. Conscientious study on the ground speedily lessens the differences between the communities of Filipinos who have remained in practically their primitive state, and tends to make the multiplied divisions and subdivisions of the library ethnologist a waste of erudition.

Among the Christian Filipinos, the eight main divisions which must be recognised are made on the basis of the language spoken. They are as follows: In northern Luzon, the Ibanag dialect, spoken in the Kagayan valley on the eastern side of the Central Cordillera, and the Ilokan dialect, spoken in the provinces to the west of the Cordillera and by the Christian people living in the Igorot provinces; in central Luzon, the Sambal, Pangasinan, Pampangan, and Tagalog dialects, the last named being the dialect of a large majority of the inhabitants of seven of the most important and progressive of the provinces of the archipelago, of which Bataan, Bulakan, Rizal, Cavite and Laguna center directly about Manila, the Bay of Manila, and Laguna de Bay, while Nueva Écija is somewhat removed to the northward, and Batangas and Tayabas lie somewhat to the southward; in southern Luzon, the Bikol dialect, spoken by most of the inhabitants of three large provinces; and in the central islands, the Bisayan dialect. The Bisayans constitute nearly one-half of the Christian population, and there are two main subdivisions of the Bisayan dialect, one spoken in the islands to the eastward, or Sámar, Leite, Bohol, and Sebú, and the other in Panai, Negros, the adjacent islands and the more remote Christian settlements of the Calamianes and Cuyo Islands, Palawan, and the southern part of Mindoro, whose northern and eastern coasts have a sprinkling of Tagalogs from Luzon. In the cen-

tral islands, as elsewhere, especially in some of the less settled parts of Luzon, there is some differentiation of the dialects, so that a Bisayan from a region but little removed may find words and usages of language to which he is a stranger, as the Tagalog, for instance, does in removing from one Tagalog district to another, though not in all cases. The Tagalogs, who are and have been for some time the most important division of the Filipinos from a political point of view, constitute slightly more than one-fifth of the Christian population. The Ilokans are next in importance, according to numbers; then the Bikols, the Pangasinans, the Pampangans, the Ibanags, and the Sambals, the last named numbering less than one per cent. of the Christian population, as their isolated province on the west coast of Luzon is populated in part by Tagalogs who have crossed the mountains from the east and Pangasinans who have moved in from the north. The Christians who live in the fringe of towns on the northern and north-eastern coasts of Mindanao and in a few scattered settlements on the Samboanga peninsula and the southern coast of that island are, in the main, Bisayans and speak a modified form of the Bisayan dialect. Some are the descendants of the people who had not been Mohammedanised when the Spaniards came, being converted to Christianity instead, and others represent later immigration to those coasts, especially the immigration of recent years which sprang from Spanish efforts to

hem in the Moros, partly by securing voluntary settlers and partly by establishing penal colonies of *deportées*, some for political offences, but the majority for ordinary crimes.

As indicated, one might recognise differences of usage, due in large part to faulty communication with outlying settlements, between the Tagalog spoken in one place and that spoken in another by the mass of the people, and more still between the Bisayan of one region and that of another. Indeed, the divergence between the main subdivisions of the Bisayan dialect might almost as well be recognised as that between Tagalog and Pampangan. On the other hand, it is easy to exaggerate the difference between these principal dialects spoken by Christian Filipinos. In grammatical structure, they are closely similar. In other ways, it is easy to see that they are merely subdivisions of one language, a language that was quite certainly common at one time, but which has become differentiated in words and usages by the separation of the different communities. In their written form to-day, they quite closely approximate each other. It is easy, for instance, to draw up tables of words in the various dialects which indicate an approximation between them even closer than that which actually exists, and which would not give to him who peruses it a fair idea of the practical obstacles of speech between a Tagalog and a Panai Bisayan, or an Ilokan and a Bikol, for example. In the first place, it is

plain that the differentiation between them had already gone on to a considerable extent at the time of the conquest, when the Spanish friars had to learn them as different languages in order to conduct missionary work in the various parts of the archipelago.

Their primitive written forms were somewhat distinct then, as also the vocabularies which the friars prepared in them in early years showed a very considerable range of difference in words. Above all, even were there no differences of vocabulary and grammar which would prevent the educated man who knew one of them from quite readily making himself understood in another—and there are such differences—it is plain that no considerable difference of the commoner words that are in use among the Filipinos could exist without making it practically impossible for the uneducated Filipino to converse in an intelligible way with his fellow of another tribe. The vocabulary of the masses is quite limited, of course, and they know nothing of the refinements of grammar or diversities of speech. The fact that a member of one tribe will, in communicating with a member of another tribe, have to fall back upon a sort of modified Spanish-Malay *lingua franca*, with a few words to express the commoner ideas of life, drawn from the Spanish (and nowadays English, too) as well as from words and phrases that are common to all the Philippine dialects, is self-explanatory.

The political divisions of the Spanish *régime*, which have in the main been retained under the new Government, followed in general the lines of tribal division according to language. On the borders of the Tagalog country, for instance, one finds some towns which are largely Ilokan or Pampangan, as one finds both Pampangans and Pangasinans in the province of Tarlak, Ilokans in Pangasinan, etc. It has been pointed out how the Bisayans and some of the tribes of Luzon mingle more or less in the undeveloped islands of the south and west, such as Mindanao and Palawan. In general, however, there has been little migration of Filipinos, and geographical and political divisions are quite accurate as to tribal boundaries. The Ilokan is the only Filipino who has shown much disposition to migrate voluntarily in search of new ways of life or better economic prospects. It is sigifincant of how far the difference in language has been felt in the past to constitute a barrier among the people themselves that, where one tribe infringes across the political boundaries of a province inhabited mainly by another, the invading tribe is generally to be found settled apart, in towns of its own and where its own language is chiefly or exclusively spoken, as, for example, with the Tagalog towns in the northern part of the province of Camarines.

Both the political and the economic features of the old *régime* tended to keep the ordinary Filipino in the place and in the station in life in

which he had been born. In the earlier days, when the friar-curates were still the undisputed seigneurs of the towns, they quite commonly resented the presence of other Europeans, whether Spaniards or foreigners, within their petty domains, if they came to engage in trade or agriculture, and even sometimes if they came merely as travellers. Though the government policy as to the admission of foreigners to the islands and as to their privileges therein gradually became liberalised during the nineteenth century, and the friars had perforce to accept the new conditions created by the beginning of modern industry and trade, still even to the last they quite commonly resented this intrusion upon their traditional preserves, and lamented the change of manners and ways of thinking as due thereto. It was in general their interest to keep their parishes as populous as possible, thus swelling the allowances made by the Government for the support of the parish churches; and they did not like to have the Filipinos moving about, on this and other grounds. The *cedula* of registration required by the Government of each citizen was in some degree a political means effective to the same end; and a man found without a *cedula* or with a *cedula* from another town or district would often be sent back to his former home or otherwise punished, perhaps by compulsory enlistment in the regiments of native troops of Spain (to avoid drafting for which he may have left home). In general, from first to last of the

period of Spanish rule, except when workmen were conscripted to go to a forested region to build ships or to serve in the army, or when there was some spasmodic effort to colonise the unsettled regions, the influence of both Church and State was exerted to herd the Filipinos together in the towns and chief *barrios*, and to keep them in the same place and condition as their great-grandfathers. Very likely, the Filipino's own love for the home of his parents was a still stronger influence in this same direction. Yet, at any rate, there was not that freedom to move about, to gratify a whim for change or in search of self-betterment, which any free government must afford.

The economic influences of the old *régime*, of course, worked in this same direction. The great obstacle to any free movement of population in the islands, within such limits as it might naturally take place (an obstacle which worked no less powerfully against interchange of thought and ideas among Filipinos), was the lack of easy methods of communication. The people of the little islets, dependent more or less upon the neighbouring islands, are in general greater travellers than are those of the chiefly populated islands, quite as one may fairly call the Bisayans in general greater travellers than the people of Luzon, except in those districts where better roads and in recent years a single line of railroad have demonstrated how readily even the humble

Filipino will take to travel when the opportunity is afforded. For the people by the sea have their little sailing craft, and the instincts of an ancestry who lived on the water are still astir in them, as is not so much the case with the interior communities.

For the mass of the people, these barriers of language and geography and of the political and economic order were quite sufficient to keep them almost entirely apart in earlier days; indeed, one might say, practically down to the end of Spanish rule. They were, though for not quite so long, effective also among the small percentage of educated Filipinos who ruled the masses as agents of the Spanish political and ecclesiastical administration. The middle-aged and older generations of the Filipino aristocracy can remember when Tagalog boys might clash with Bisayans, Ilokans with Bikols, in the halls of the university at Manila when meeting each other between classes, displaying a harmless, but still significant, rivalry on tribal lines, much as there is a rivalry between freshmen and sophomores in American colleges. Precisely as the Spaniards, and particularly the friars, displayed a greater tendency to make discriminations on the ground of race in recent years, there was a stronger tendency toward solidarity among Filipinos. When the older Filipino *deportées* and the younger Filipino students of the seventies, eighties, and nineties met, more and more, in Spanish and other European cities, in

Hongkong and Japan, and co-operated in the propaganda for Philippine reform, tribal lines of distinction were in a fair way to be speedily erased, and were, of course, entirely lost from sight by the broader-minded of these men who had the more comprehensive plans for the future exercise of Filipino nationality based upon racial unity. But such lines were not entirely wiped out, even among the educated Filipinos, by these comparatively few years of mutual support and of co-operation; nor are they yet entirely removed, even after the events of 1898 and 1899.

The Katipunan revolt of 1896–7 was almost entirely a Tagalog affair, with some co-operation on the part of Pampangans and Pangasinans, and some detached evidences of the same inclinations to resort to force against Spain in the regions of the Ilokans, Bikols, and Bisayans. Besides the dissensions between the Tagalog leaders themselves, ending in the assassination of Aguinaldo's rival, Andres Bonifacio, there was perhaps more than a trace of tribal feeling in the rancours which arose in the wake of the settlement at Biak-na-bató; certain of the Pangasinan leaders who had actively co-operated in the revolt within Tagalog territory being convinced that a Tagalog (perhaps one should say, Aguinaldo) clique was going to monopolise the spoils (money paid over by the Spanish Government to buy the cessation of hostilities, without any "treaty" whatever, as has been claimed). The fact that nearly all this

money was kept intact and eventually used to make warfare again upon Spain does not alter the effect of the point here made, viz., that there was some display of tribal feeling on the part of these chieftains.

Never before had the Filipinos been united in a common cause in anything like the same degree as in their movement against Spain in 1898 and in the resultant movement against the sovereignty of the United States in 1899 and in subsequent years. It appeared for a time that there might be a considerable degree of Filipino co-operation with the Spaniards against the Americans. But the arrival of Aguinaldo and other Hongkong *deportées* at the critical moment, backed by the apparent "alliance" with the Americans, and proclaiming a political programme that went far beyond any that had been seriously formulated during the Tagalog revolt of 1896–7, very speedily turned the scale against the Spanish authority. This "alliance" consisted on the American side only of a desire at first to employ as a weapon of war against the Spaniards the discontented element among the Filipinos, and for a short time at the outset the informal support of American naval authority was given to Aguinaldo's movement. On the side of the Filipino chieftains, there was never any illusion as to their having obtained a compact with the Americans; but they, too, were ready to temporise at the outset, and they found it a very useful instrument for turning the

provinces against Spain to spread the news far and wide that the future independent Philippine Government would have the support of American authority and arms. This, in itself, is an indication of what was a fact, viz., that there was not yet Filipino unity against Spain, nor in support of a Filipino republic, or at least that the element which had controlled the revolt of the two preceding years in the vicinity of Manila could not expect either prompt or complete Filipino loyalty, outside of the Tagalog provinces, if in them. For these statements, it may be said in passing, and because there is still much guessing about the events of 1898, there is not only full documentary proof, but also a complete confirmation in the facts which transpired during that year.

The movement succeeded to a degree which the more radical of the leaders, among them Aguinaldo, had at first despaired of seeing realised. The Tagalog provinces were speedily raised in revolt, then the neighbouring provinces of central Luzon. Only Tagalog armed expeditions brought about a general overthrow of Spanish authority in the northern and the southern districts of Luzon. In the central islands, the popular feeling was sufficiently threatening to compel the scanty Spanish garrisons to concentrate in Iloilo and Sebú, where they remained until after the signing of the treaty of peace by which Spain was to lose the archipelago. Nevertheless, had it not been for the crippling of Spain's armed

power and the staying of her hand by the American blockade of Manila, it is very certain that Spanish authority would have continued to be asserted in Luzon outside of the central provinces and in the Bisayas in general. With a course of action upon the American side which should have been sufficiently resolute on one side and sufficiently well-informed and diplomatic on the other, it is more than probable that insurrection against the United States on any general scale would not have occurred in the Bisayas at all; the upper class in those islands, nearly all men of property, and not urged forward to radical measures by any considerable number of middle-class leaders—the middle class being almost negligible in those provinces, leaving the masses to the sole direction of the caciques—were inclined to accommodation on such bases as would assure social and political reforms which had been agitated for from five to thirty years. To a large extent, the same might have been the case with the Luzon provinces inhabited by the Ibanags, Ilokans, Pangasinans, and Bikols, probably also the Pampangans and Sambals; though, in the case of these other tribes of Luzon, it would have been necessary to outline an American programme and begin an American propaganda at an earlier stage than with the Bisayas, which were in large degree segregated during 1898 from the scene of the agitation started among the masses in central Luzon. But we are getting away from facts as they actually happened.

The Bisayans, in a majority of cases the aristocracy as well as the comparatively few radical leaders, did join hands, for all practical purposes of opposition to the United States, with the revolutionary government in Luzon. Negros, which has been developed since the middle of the last century into the chief island for the production of sugar, and which is composed to a great degree of large estates, was kept practically free of active participation in the revolution by its chief property-owners. But in Negros itself, sympathy with the Filipino cause was altogether the rule among people both high and low, and the chief good which this opposition to American authority has accomplished, viz., to strengthen where it did not really develop the sentiment of Filipino nationality, was realised in a considerable degree in Negros as well as elsewhere. In the Filipino Government, so-called, the Bisayans never really had any part worth mentioning; but they were only less cut off from the honours of office and the direction of the paper affairs of government than were the Ibanags, Ilokans, and Bikols, and to a large degree also the Pangasinans and Pampangans. From first to last, the paper government of the Filipinos was almost entirely a Tagalog affair. Of the one hundred odd members of the Congress of Malolos, some of whom never took their seats, three-fourths were Tagalogs, and the Bisayans and Bikols and Ilokans who appeared in this list (in almost every case by the appoint-

ment of Aguinaldo) were in large part residents of Manila or men who otherwise had not been directly in touch with the provinces they were now called upon to represent.

In both its civil and its military organisation, the Filipino Government was a Tagalog enterprise, and in large degree also an Aguinaldo machine. But circumstances had a good deal to do with making this so; above all, the circumstance that the Tagalog provinces were the head and front of the new Filipino movement for progress, both in its evolutionary and its revolutionary phases. The circumstance, however, that the men who constituted the "inner circle" at Bakoor, Cavite, and later at Malolos, Bulakan, were in the first months of the propaganda fearful of letting the direction of the movement be entrusted to any who were not sure to be "loyal to Aguinaldo," is in itself an indication of the existence of factional if not tribal dissensions. But as events occurred in rapid succession to second most powerfully their own efforts, and as the prestige of their leader and organisation rapidly became established throughout the archipelago, the entire movement took on a dignity and a representative character which no one connected with it could or would have predicted as certain to be achieved. The Bisayans never had any real part in the paper government that was set up, and the tribes of Luzon other than the Tagalogs were but little more involved in this part of the movement. But,

before the guerilla organisation which succeeded it, and which was its real manifestation of great importance, had been forcibly overcome or the chieftains attracted to peace, all the Christian tribes and all the provinces had played some part in this movement. So far as the vast majority of intelligent Filipinos were concerned, the Filipino nation may be regarded as dating from that time. In a previous chapter, the question of how far there is a "public opinion" in the Philippines has been discussed. Before one passes the verdict that there is now, as a result of the revolution, a "Filipino nation," he must pause to consider the facts therein presented as to the status of the Filipino masses.

Tribal lines have, furthermore, not been entirely effaced among the educated Filipinos. When Aguinaldo made his flight from Tarlak, up the west coast of Luzon and into the mountains, in the closing weeks of 1899, it was mainly Tagalog troops who escorted him, quite as Tagalog troops and their Tagalog commander were exercising a military government over the displeased Ilokans of that region. The welcome the American troops received when they marched into those towns in pursuit of this Filipino column was not merely politic dissembling. The assassination of Antonio Luna, the Ilokan general whose ambitions threatened Aguinaldo as Bonifacio's had in 1897, had helped to alienate Ilokan support from Aguinaldo himself at least, if not

from the cause of independent government. Aguinaldo was wise enough at this stage to commission Ilokans as generals (among them, Gregorio Aglipay) to array their people in guerilla warfare against the Americans; but the Tagalog commander did not deliver their commission for a time, and retained to the last the nominally chief command. Tagalog troops misbehaved themselves in the towns, so the Ilokans declared; and an armed clash occurred between the two tribes on one occasion, when they were supposed to be making common front against the invading Americans. How far, by diplomatic management, some union of Ilokans with the American authority might have been brought about, is a question. It is certain, however, that the hopes of American headquarters in Manila that the Ilokans would not make a stand against American authority, and perhaps would help to drive out the Tagalogs, were never realised.

One year after the entry of the American troops amid huzzas, real and feigned, the opposition to them was far more serious and effective than it had been at the outset, and it had been organised in the main by and among Ilokans themselves. Much the same proved to be the case in the territory of the Pangasinans, Pampangans, Bikols, and Bisayans, as it was occupied by American troops. In the Kagayan valley it was less the case, partly owing to the preceding abuses of the Tagalog commanders who had ruled over that region for

more than a year. Specific instances, similar to those which have been mentioned in regard to the Ilokan provinces, might be further adduced to point to the existence still of some disunion among the Filipinos of the ruling class. There is some lingering tribal feeling involved in it, though it would be quite fallacious to ascribe undue importance to this feeling. The plans for future Filipino government put forth in 1898 and in 1899, when Filipinos who desired peace were outlining governmental programmes for the benefit of the Americans, all took account, in one way and another, of tribal lines, as well as of purely geographical lines; in one case, indeed, a most respectable element of Filipinos in Manila proposed a rather complex "federal" government for the archipelago, based on these lines in the main. Each province is to have at least one representative in the legislative assembly which is to be inaugurated in 1907. It will perhaps quite express the present situation as to tribal feeling among the Filipinos of the upper class if we say that some lines of division may occur in a tribal sense, but that the principal lines of sectional division in the future assembly will in all probability be rather geographical and economic than tribal.

For there are geographic and economic lines of division which exist and will continue to exist naturally, and are not to be blamed to the archaic features of the old *régime*. The Philippines are a great archipelago, and their one largest and

overwhelmingly most populous island presents within itself a great diversity of topographic conditions of crops and of peoples. Even were Luzon all the Philippines there is, the comparison with Cuba which has been so often made would be a wholly erroneous one, quite apart from the great difference in location of the two islands, one at the door of the United States, the other in the distant Orient, close by the ports of Asia. Cuba has one language, though diverse racial elements, and its crop conditions are quite uniform. Luzon is almost separated into a northern and a southern part by the Laguna de Bay and a waste of quite uninhabited and rough country. The northern part is again severed in two longitudinally by an entanglement of mountains in which more or less wild tribes, some of them head-hunters, live. Its eastern coast is without a good port, and gets its rain with the monsoon that blows upon it from the north-east and the Pacific. The western coast and the most inhabited parts of the island, as throughout the archipelago in general, have their rainy season, and hence their economic rotation of seasons, with the south-west monsoon. The chief crops for export vary with the different areas, their soil and climatic conditions, as has already been shown; and to some extent there is a diversity of the food crops in this same connexion. The extension of railroads will, of course, work in many ways to break down this diversity and separateness, as it will to open up and settle

regions of no little possibility which have hitherto gone to waste. But the sea is, after all, the natural means of communication for the Philippines, especially when one considers that it is an archipelago consisting of a score and a half of islands which are of importance, besides some three thousand more which are mere islets or simply rocks in the water. Apart from Mindanao, which is so largely undeveloped to-day, there is the possibility for great good to be done by small lines of railroad in a few of the more important of the central islands. But geographical circumstances, as well as economic arguments, dictate that the water shall still continue to be the chief way of communication and transportation in the Philippines. There is room for very great improvement in the facilities of communication between island and island, but that is a matter which time alone, and increasing business, will bring about. Unquestionably, for reasons mainly connected with military operations, there has been a very great degree of improvement in such communication from island to island during the period of the American occupation.

Finally, as has just been hinted in pointing out the invalidity of the comparison of Cuba with Luzon or the Philippine archipelago as a whole, there is the presence of the pagan tribes, chiefly in the hills, and of the Moros in the southern islands. Were this purely a descriptive book, such as might very properly be written under the

heading "Philippine Life," more picturesque material might be drawn from the communities of the Moros and pagans than from those of the Christian Filipinos. But the writer of this book is not well qualified for the task, that has never yet been really well done, despite the number of travellers who have written on the Philippines, and it would seem that the American people may well have had a surfeit of descriptive sketches about the Filipinos, pagan and Christian, in books, magazines, and newspapers, during these seven years past. In this book we are concerned only with the general facts which lie at the basis of Philippine society and the general movements which make up that society to-day. In the second chapter, the probable close connexion of the Moros and pagans with the Christian Filipinos in their racial origin was discussed, and the underlying racial unity of the people of the archipelago, probably excepting none but the Negritos, was insisted upon. That the Moros are actually quite separate and distinct, socially, from the Filipinos of the Christian provinces, was necessarily emphasised; quite as fully do the Christian Filipinos feel themselves distinct from the pagans of the hills, and they are not less so except in the sense that the latter have not been converted to Mohammedanism, a religion hostile to Christianity, and therefore tend to shade into the lowland Filipinos as their settlements come down from the hills. The mountaineers of Luzon are a sturdy

people, who give promise. So, too, are the physically vigorous and often handsome hill-tribesmen of Mindanao who have remained pagans in the region centering around Mount Apo. In some ways, the straightforward and truth-telling ways of these hill-people seem to lend confirmation to the implication of José Rizal, in his annotations of his edition of the work of Morga, that his people had declined in moral vigour since the Spanish conquest. But it is too early to hazard opinions as to what will be the future of these pagan peoples; one may say, at least, that the climate of their uplands, being more invigorating, is a favourable circumstance.

As to the Moros, he who tries to draw some conclusions from the record of American contact with them thus far, not to say he who peruses the shifting record of Spanish dealings with the Mohammedans whom the priests were always eager first to convert, will be last to risk prophecies. In that portion of the archipelago, the American Government has a problem altogether similar to that with which British administrators have been dealing in the Federated Malay States. British experience is valuable in this connexion, and British precedents may be followed in so far as the results which have been achieved in the Malay States are deemed to be results desired to be achieved in the south Philippines. An indication that the American Government will nowhere in the Philippines frankly put forward economic

development as its sole or its chief end in view is the fact that the still weak, somewhat independent government of the "Moro Province," has in its first year appropriated twenty-five per cent. of its revenues for purposes of education. In this region, industrial education is to be put to the front even more than in the Christian provinces, and is to go along with primary education also. Conditions invite this, and they also permit it to an extent that would not be possible in the extensive areas of the Christian towns, where as yet not all the school population can be reached even sufficiently to teach them to read and write.

That the presence of the Moros and pagans is a serious obstacle to Filipino unity, in so far as that unity is conceived to have as its aim a single Philippine government conducted mainly or wholly by Filipinos, is a thing only too apparent. The Moro territory of the south Philippines might be segregated and governed under separate sovereignty or by a separate administration of one sort or another, though this would raise some complications regarding the long island of Palawan and the great island of Mindanao, the latter especially being properly a part of the general Philippine group, and both islands containing Christian Filipinos as well as pagans and Moros. But the Igorots of north central Luzon and the other pagan communities of the archipelago cannot, in any event, be set so at one side. The

Moros apart, one may look for a reasonable achievement of Filipino unity with betterment of communication and the continual internal development that shall approximate pagans and Christians more closely, not to mention the educational influences now at work among the latter. The presence of the Moros, who are Mohammedans and fanatical fighters, though neither so good Mohammedans nor so fanatical fighters as one associates with the name "Mussulman," introduces a more puzzling problem. Perhaps they will follow along behind the other Filipinos, though in most respects they must be far in the rear for a good while to come; if so, it will needs be because their slaveholding lords and taskmasters shall have been restrained in their domination by a stronger outside government than has yet appeared in those regions, and because the mass of the people improve new educational and economic opportunities. As things stand today, however, there is, politically, no analogy between the Christians and the Moros of the Philippines. And, while the effectiveness of popular government remains still entirely an unsettled problem among the Christian Filipinos, who went to war because their leaders put forth such a government as their ideal, it would be entirely premature to talk of a political evolution of the masses in the Moro territory. It is quite significant, however, that the tendencies of the American Government are toward assuring to the

humble Moro more nearly an equal opportunity with his lord and master.

In developing this theme, statements which are on their surface somewhat contradictory of each other have here and there been made. This is simply an indication of the fact that the Filipinos, to repeat a statement of the introductory chapter, are in a transitional state. It will not do to dogmatise in one direction or another. Underneath, we may feel quite sure, there is racial homogeneity in the Philippines. The Christian Filipinos, nine-tenths of the total population, of both high and low estate, have been powerfully stirred by the events of the past seven to nine years, and have achieved a feeling of racial unity, if we will not quite say of nationality.

CHAPTER IX

TRADE AND INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT

THE Philippine Islands are not bound to prove an Eldorado simply because the American flag has been hoisted over them. There seems to have been a sort of unconscious tendency on the part of a good many Americans to assume that this would be the case, quite as there was a very evident tendency at the outset to disregard the accumulated experience and writings of the long Spanish rule and to treat the islands virtually as undiscovered and virgin territory.

It is true, however, that the natural resources of the archipelago are to-day comparatively undeveloped. The chief natural source of wealth is agriculture, and will almost certainly always be agriculture. Yet, of the 75,000,000 acres comprised within the islands of the entire archipelago, less than 6,000,000 were estimated by Spanish statistics as being held in private ownership during the period of Spanish rule. The Spanish estimates, which were only estimates, regarded

this land as practically all under cultivation, which was never the case; even allowing for many squatters cultivating land not taken into account in the Spanish figures, it is very certain that this amount of land was never at one time cultivated. Taking every man's claim to his land at its face value, the census of 1903 showed but slightly more than 7,000,000 acres to be owned by Philippine agriculturists, small and great, or less than 10 per cent. of the total area of the archipelago. But of this total, over 13 per cent. was forest, and 40 per cent. was waste or uncultivated land, a part of which had relapsed into wildness in consequence of the warfare going on since 1896, but the major portion of which waste land was hilly or rocky ground or ground never yet broken, though available for cultivation. In all, some 3,250,000 acres were shown to be under cultivation in 1903. The best estimates that could be obtained of the amount of land that was under cultivation prior to 1896, when the warfare began in the Tagalog provinces and a few others, indicated slightly over 4,000,000 acres as then under cultivation, showing a 20 per cent. decline on account of war, the cholera, locust plagues, and the loss of the great majority of draft-animals by cattle disease. If we allow for two-thirds of the total area of the archipelago being unbreakable jungle or virgin forest not likely to be conquered within any reasonable period of time, or being mountainous or rocky soil unfitted for

cultivation, it will probably be safe to say that the remaining one-third, or 25,000,000 acres, is territory that can either be cultivated better than it now is or can be reclaimed for purposes of cultivation within a reasonable period of time; that it is potentially cultivable, in other words.

The major portion of this area lies, of course, in unsettled regions of Luzon and in such unexplored and undeveloped islands as Mindanao, Mindoro, and Palawan, the reclaiming of which, in the near future, is entirely a problem. Yet a very goodly portion of unreclaimed land lies on the very outskirts of the Christian settlements of the Philippine lowlands to-day, if not within the very borders of these towns, where the land between the center of population and the outlying *barrios* is often left waste. One need not underestimate the difficulties of contending with rank tropical vegetation and the existence on much of this undeveloped land of forest and of more or less dense jungle-growth. But, making all such allowances, the area of land under cultivation could at a comparatively early date be doubled, should the Filipinos themselves take advantage of the provisions of the new homestead law. The amount of land cultivable right at the doors of the clusters of Filipino dwellings could be largely increased, aside from the increase in the productive capacity of land already being planted, were the opportunities for easy irrigation even approximately improved. The Chief of the Philippine

Bureau of Agriculture commented, in his report of 1904:

"It is a curious fact that, though there are rivers of water going to waste everywhere in the islands that could irrigate thoroughly every acre of land, yet I do not believe that three per cent. of the good land has artificial irrigation provided for it. With proper machinery for ditching and grading, hundreds of thousands of acres (now partly sterile in the dry season and more or less uncertain all the time) may have abundance of water conducted over them at a mere trifle of cost."

The same observer shows that the mills provided on the best sugar-estates of Negros lose over one-half of the possible values of their sugar-cane, whereas modern machinery in the countries which are really in the competition to supply the world with sugar to-day turn out nine-tenths of their product, polarising at 96 per cent. He says further regarding the methods on Negros Island, which, let it be remarked, are in general more progressive than anywhere else in the archipelago, except in portions of Pampanga and the Tagalog provinces:

"Their economy, or rather want of economy, is just about as marked on the plantation as in the mill. Very small, steel-pointed, wooden ploughs

and *carabaos* scratch an acre in four to six days. After about the third scratching, interspersed with a good deal of digging and burning of larger weeds, the land can be planted. Every operation on the plantation seems to be done by the slowest process. I have seen a force of sixty men working in the yards of a small mill, sunning the bagasse to get it dry enough to burn. In modern plants, even after mixing a good deal of water with the bagasse between the different sets of rollers, the resulting product is always dry enough to burn and make all the steam necessary."

The census of 1903 showed less than 1,000,000 acres of forest land to be claimed by landholders, the vast majority of whom claimed but a small tract of land in all. There is a yet smaller area of forest land to which legal title can be readily demonstrated, making it open for sale in fee simple to persons or companies desiring to exploit the timber resources of the Philippines. Some estimates place the amount of Philippine land covered by virgin forest at about 40,000,000 acres. Practically all the timber of the archipelago stands, therefore, on land owned by the Government, which will retain the title to this land so long as it remains forest land, giving licenses to cut the timber under supervision at a certain rate per cubic foot for the various classes of woods. Before sitting down with pencil and paper, however, to figure out what 40,000,000 acres of standing

timber would be worth, judged according to the standards of northern forests, it should be fastened clearly in mind that the Philippine forests are tropical forests. The growth is dense beyond the belief of a man who has not seen it, not only of the trees themselves, but of the mass of undergrowth grass, brush, vine, parasite, etc.

All this has to be reckoned with before the valuable timber can be removed. For there are virtually no homogeneous forests of standing trees, the giants which produce the tropical hard woods standing here and there in the midst of other great trees whose branches crowd each other and of the almost inevitable dense undergrowth. There may be one, two, three, a half-dozen of the trees which produce a mahogany-like timber standing on each acre. Obviously, the question of getting to these trees and clearing a path for their removal, along with the problem of obtaining labour in regions generally remote from the settled districts, is the chief thing to be considered. The hardest of the woods of the Philippines are too hard for most practical purposes. Plainly, the proposition of exploiting the timber resources of the archipelago is, in general, one to be undertaken only with plenty of preliminary knowledge of the situation and with sufficient preliminary resources. Nevertheless, there is undoubtedly great wealth there, and it must and will come forth in greater proportion than in the past, to the general enrichment of the Philippine

community. If study and experiment now going on shall add to the possibilities in the way of cultivating certain forest vines and gum-producing trees, notably rubber and gutta percha, now being gathered from wild plants in a crude way by Moros and Chinese, the prospects for Philippine internal development in the near future are thereby so much enhanced.

It is problematical whether or no the mineral resources of the islands will prove to be great, but the chance is against more than moderate returns from the bowels of earth in this archipelago, and in favour of this source of wealth remaining always a very minor one. It was probably assumed too hastily that the Spaniards, who settled such countries as Peru and Mexico, had overlooked rich minerals in the Philippines. They developed principally, of course, the silver mines of those countries, but they developed the silver as the result of the keen search they conducted in their first years of conquest for the more valuable yellow metal. Gold and copper were being mined and worked up in a crude way by the Igorots when the Spaniards first pried into the outskirts of the northern Luzon mountain-area. The gold is mostly low-grade and refractory ore. The region's possibilities are by no means developed, but the probability of there being any great mineral expansion in that section is not great. There may, of course, be "strikes" of precious metals in the yet half-explored islands. It ap-

pears probable, however, that coal will prove to be the most valuable as well as most useful of Philippine minerals. It is lignite, but, from the partial experiments thus far made, bids fair to surpass Japanese coal in steam-producing power. The importance of coal deposits in the Orient to-day is apparent. If, too, the iron deposits north of Manila shall prove to be as extensive as indicated, one may foreshadow some stimulus to industrial development in the Philippines themselves, aside from the certainty that here would be an important source of supply of the great raw materials of modern civilisation for Japan, in her era of industrial as well as military expansion.

This leads us to query just how far the assertion is valid which condemns the Philippines not merely to remain chiefly a tropical agricultural land, but which declares that its only possibilities of importance lie in the direction of producing tropical food and raw materials for export to the countries which consume them or make them up. On one side, those who lay down this dictum not only treat the internal trade of the Philippine Islands to-day as a negligible quantity, but also regard it as a trade which has no considerable possibilities for the future, apparently on the assumption that never, under tropical skies, will there arise a population whose domestic interchange of foodstuffs or manufactured products will be of relative importance compared with their foreign exchange of vegetable products for manu-

factured articles of the commoner sorts. On the other side, it is assumed that industry, as distinguished from agriculture, manfacturing industry, that is, can never be developed in the Philippines.

In the first place, as has already been shown in a specific way in the paragraph on the home-woven textiles of the Philippines, the internal trade of the archipelago is not so negligible a quantity as one might be led to believe by reasoning upon the analogy of some other tropical countries. The census of 1903 showed nearly 1500 boats registered for the Philippine inter-island trade, such boats being of a capacity of over 15 tons each, though averaging only 60 tons capacity, while 1300 were sailing craft and only 175 were steam vessels of small draft. Of course, the operations of these craft in and out mainly of Manila, Iloilo, and Sebú and the ports whence hemp, tobacco, and copra are shipped, were trips carried on very largely in the interest of the foreign trade, taking those and other products to the chief ports and distributing again in the remoter parts of the archipelago the foreign manufactures bought with such products. But the interchange of some few articles of home manufacture, textiles mainly, but also some other things in which one province specialises over another, as well as of agricultural products designed for home consumption, chiefly tobacco and the manufactures of tobacco, raw sugar, rice, and some coffee, is carried on to such an extent as to mark the existence of

an incipient internal trade not to be dismissed as of no consequence. It may be argued that improvement of communications will tend to check rather than develop this internal trade; the Philippine home-made textile industry seems to have suffered from the competition of cheap Chinese goods in the early years of Spanish rule, while the Philippine textiles have been displaced in part by the cheaper cotton fabrics of England and Germany since, in connexion with the expansion of foreign trade in the middle of the last century, internal communications began to be improved. If so, this will tend to relegate the Filipino more and more to a purely agricultural life, buying even his cheaper clothing from abroad, the result of the improvement in communications with foreign countries and between the islands of the archipelago being to destroy the native handicrafts. But this view allows nothing at all for an increasing capacity on the part of the Filipino to meet this foreign competition in certain lines of manufacture for which native products at hand are adapted, better often than are the foreign products in the same lines. And even if one pessimistically assumes that the Filipino has reached the limit of his capacities as a hand workman, or that machines and factories are not to be in that country, there is still the native prejudice for many of the articles of home manufacture that must be taken into account.

The possibility of a stimulus of the arts and

crafts in the Philippines has been hinted at in the chapter on the new system of education. It is quite a matter of the future, however, and may be left with the mention. It is, however, certainly not safe to assert at this stage that there is no future for the development of manufacturing industry on the modern basis in the islands. Cigar factories do not fairly come under this head, perhaps, and are not to be put in the comparison with industries which require extensive or complicated machinery and a reasonably cheap supply of coal. A mere beginning has been made in Manila with cotton textiles and hats, as also the manufacture of pottery and some finer wares, of ropes, and of carriages assumes some local importance. If the coal deposits shall prove to be of some relative importance, it is far from impossible that certain lines of manufacture for Oriental consumption might profitably be undertaken in the Philippines. At any rate, following up those lines of simpler manufacture in which there has already been some development, it is reasonable to expect that the making of soap, perfumes, toilet articles, certain essential oils, etc., may be developed into some importance merely for supplying the home market, and possibly may enter somewhat into competition abroad. Japan and Asia are the natural markets for the Philippines, and have never been intelligently nor carefully cultivated there. To mention a few instances merely as possibilities, the cassava, which grows wild in the

Philippines and is used only occasionally as a famine food, would furnish tapioca and a factory product in the form of starch, which sells at an unduly high price in the Philippines. The rejected pulp of the stripped *abaká* fiber seems to promise possibilities for the manufacture of paper. The leather tanning industry is practically undeveloped in the islands.

We come back at every stage upon the questions planted in the chapter on the industrial life of the Filipinos of the ordinary Philippine town, viz., How far may the Filipinos be counted upon to show greater initiative as proprietors and greater enterprise as labourers, and how far are present conditions in these respects the inevitable accompaniments of the climate and of racial constitution? The climate is certainly a permanent factor. The answer to the other phases of the query depends chiefly upon the Filipinos themselves, and in the main the Filipinos of the masses. In so far as the Government and the directive class of Filipinos can and will aid in an educational way, they may be held responsible for results or lack of results. It need not be pointed out that the economic policy of the Government must exercise, in a great variety of ways, close influence upon the economic development of the people and of the resources of the islands. In its use of the taxing power alone, the Government is bound not only to look to the securing of revenue, but also to the exertion of stimulus

upon the Filipinos to develop the resources under their feet, wherever it is possible to employ such a stimulus in a feasible way. This is one thing which goes to justify the application to the Philippines of the same principle of taxing land and real property as is employed in the United States. The time was probably inopportune for the implanting of this tax at the end of the period of active warfare, and especially in view of the various unavoidable calamities which have since come upon the Philippine rural communities. It may also be the case that this form of taxation is not the one best suited to Philippine conditions. It is yet too early either to condemn or to justify it outright. In so far, however, as this tax tends to exert pressure upon Philippine landholders to cultivate their land or surrender it to those who will cultivate it, it operates precisely as a scientific form of taxation should operate in the Philippines to-day. Altogether too many Filipinos possessing landed property which war and loss of draft-animals have partially ruined are merely folding their arms to-day and wasting time in complaints about the land tax or petitions for its suspension that should be put into efforts to restore their depreciated property, not merely to its former state, but to a much more productive state. There is a great deal more talk than work about a considerable number of conspicuous Filipino landholders. Some are airing in the cities recent acquirements in political economy whom

patrimonial estates are loudly calling to the country for some diligent display there of real domestic economy.

It is very certain that an altogether more simple and direct system of government could be imposed upon the Filipino communities from above—assuming that they would permit it without further expensive warfare—which would cost considerably less than the government now existing in the islands. With no intention of setting up a defence for this particular form of government, and granting that the government as at present constituted could be effectively carried on for less money than has been spent annually for the past four years, it is essential to the line of thought that has been followed in this book to point out that any political scheme for the Philippines which looks toward "self-government" will be relatively expensive for the Filipinos to support. This will be true in the formative stage through which they and their new government are now passing, and in any ultimate state wherein self-government shall have been wholly or partially achieved. A government of popular participation is necessarily cumbersome and comparatively expensive in some respects. It is generally believed, above all in the United States, to have compensating advantages which more than make up for some loss of financial efficiency at times in the machinery of state. Of course, if it is to be assumed that the Filipinos

are permanently incapacitated for popular self-government, then the conclusion is inevitable that they are to-day being burdened with an unduly large bill for a government which is not the best sort to give them, and that not by themselves, but by an outside power. Under this aspect, the issue becomes purely one of abandoning the attempt to help them into self-government as something altogether utopian, and then either of setting up a government frankly based on authority and armed force or of withdrawing altogether from a region wherein American social and political ideals cannot enter. The latter is really the dilemma that some who have most loudly proclaimed their friendship for the Filipinos would like to force upon the American people.

With a certain class of speculative dreamers it has been a favourite pastime since May, 1898, to draw a map with Manila in the center, and radiating therefrom lines of trade running to China, Japan, and the East Indies. Sometimes a graphic representation of the number of inhabitants of Asia, especially China, is added, the inference being that the prospective millions of trade with these millions of people will have to pass through Manila, and that somehow or other the people of the United States are quite directly to be enriched thereby. There is just as much sense in such speculations as there would be in drawing a map showing Havana to be the "trade center" around which the adjoining continent to the north, as

well as South America and the adjacent shores of Europe, were made to center. Manila may very well come to draw direct to her new harbour that portion of Philippine trade which is now transshipped through Hongkong, and to a small degree through Singapore. Philippine trade itself may be expected to grow, dependent upon factors heretofore discussed. If any considerable amount of manufacturing shall develop in the archipelago, Manila will tend to become a trade emporium of general importance in the Orient. But just why it should be desired, or why it should be thought possible at any rate, to make this port again a "depot of trade" for Asia, or for any considerable portion of the Far East, it is very hard to see.

Manila can expect to draw to her wharves the lines of steamers which in the main will handle the trade of the Orient with the Occident—the "tramp" sailing vessels, too, for that matter—only to the extent that the development of the Philippine carrying-trade shall warrant such an arrangement of schedules on their part. Why it should be supposed that goods for Asia, coming from America or Europe or elsewhere, should ever be transshipped at Manila for the commonly rough trip thence to the mainland, is a thing totally inexplicable, assuming that one has any conception whatever of the lines along which modern trade and shipping develop. In the days when Spain drew close restrictions about the trade of her colonies with the mother-country and

with each other, to the extent of absolutely forbidding trade in certain cases and of practically monopolising the carrying-trade, Manila was made, in an artificial way, a trade-depot between China and Mexico, which meant to some extent a depot for the exchange of goods and money between all Asia and America (at times, also Europe). In the height of this trade, during portions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, Manila was the "Pearl of the Orient." But it was only the Spanish merchants and the religious and lay corporations in the city of Manila itself, who carried on this trade or held the right to the cargo space in the ships, that profited by such an arrangement.

Sinibaldo de Mas has shown, sixty years past, how such a policy retarded the development of the Philippine archipelago as a whole, Philippine trade proper being insignificant until after the voyages of the galleons were suppressed with the achieving of independence by Mexico, accompanied by the entry of foreigners to develop native products and the admission of foreign vessels to the Philippine external carrying-trade, though under restrictions to the last. The student of Philippine history may satiate himself with arguments against a preferential trade policy, under any and every aspect. Even were it conceded that Manila has the proper location, and that it would be desirable once more to revert to a dead and buried policy, and to convert this port into a

trade-depot to the neglect of the internal development of the country, one must wonder how it has been dreamed that this would be possible under restrictions upon the carrying-trade or upon the exchange of merchandise, in the face of such free ports as Hongkong and Singapore. Verily, the "promoter's" kind of brain breeds much picturesque nonsense.

CHAPTER X

THE FILIPINOS AND THE ORIENT

THE Philippines may be considered to-day as a laboratory where an experiment with important bearings on the "race problem" is being conducted. There is a certain school of experts which maintains that Orientals are not only *practically* different in many ways to-day from the dominant peoples of the Occident, but that they are *inherently* different beings, having a mental constitution not really to be understood by the Westerner, and capable of "modern progress," as the Westerner views progress, only to a limited degree, and then under the guidance of Occidental mentors. Lately this view has been on the point of being erected into a dogma, between the labours of Kipling and his imitators in light stories and verse, on the one hand, and the grave pronouncements of journalistic specialists on the Orient, on the other hand. It were malicious at this moment to do more than merely point out that Japan has recently been shattering a thousand dicta of the wise experts on the "Oriental problem," and that the text-books of this school

must now be rewritten in respect of some of their very elemental propositions.

That there are great practical differences between the Orient and the Occident, and between Orientals and Occidentals, is perfectly evident. They confront the traveller, the administrator, the student, at every turn, and they must be taken into account in determining any governmental policy as well as in arranging ethnological classifications. But it is quite as dangerous as it is easy to assume, after the first puzzled efforts to penetrate beneath the mask of the Oriental, that he is a being altogether different from ourselves, a man "who does things backward," to use a favourite phrase which has been repeating itself since the first Jesuit missionary-chroniclers sent back their observations from China. Scientifically, ethnology, so far as it has been developed, teaches above all other things the unity of the human family despite its sometimes puzzling divisions. It is altogether more helpful to proceed upon this theory in matters of political administration and of social organisation. Nor has it yet been at all demonstrated that, in proceeding upon this theory, one must go counter to accumulated experience in the history of the Occident's relations with the Orient. That is as some men have wished to see it, rather than as a fair or thorough study of the period of those relations will have proved. Nor does long residence in the Orient and in direct contact with Orientals

necessarily confer the right to speak with authority. Very much depends upon the attitude which the Occidental of long residence has adopted and maintained toward the people about him.

There is a superficial wisdom of the Orient, which the Westerner first entering those precincts will imbibe unconsciously, if he be not on his guard—the wisdom, in its frothiest phase, of the white man's clubs and his drinking-tables. This is the wisdom that pronounces the Oriental a being of non-progressive or anti-progressive disposition, the sort of man who does not "appreciate what the white man is trying to do for him," an impenetrable mask who is all lies on the surface—in short, the "half devil and half child" of the catch-phrases of flippancy. It were enough if this airy wisdom were confined to gossip over the cups, thus impregnating with disdain for the Oriental the newcomer and the rank and file of the white military and civil service engaged in administrative work in the Orient. But it reaches further than that, and affects the writings of globe-trotting authorities, the actions of colonial governors, and the policy of home governments. Japan has given the blow squarely in the face to such superior complacency, and the vogue of superficial philosophy about the Orient is, we may hope, soon to pass.

It would be, however, quite as superficial to argue that what the Japanese have done the Filipinos can and soon will do, simply because the

Japanese have done it. The Japanese have had a highly organised government, have conducted warfare on a large scale, have reached an altogether noteworthy standard of achievement in art during some centuries past. There is no validity in the claim that the Filipinos were little if anything better than savages when the Spaniards came; neither is there sense in the fantastic tales about a highly developed Filipino society at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, as such tales have been contrived by several superficial Filipino "savants" in recent years in reply to the extreme claims of the friars as to having turned savages into peaceable Christians. But, above all other things, there is the influence of climate to give us pause in respect of straining the analogy between Japanese and Filipinos. The same school of dogmatists who have condemned the Orientals in general to stagnation and to the rule of outsiders will with even greater positiveness place the tropical peoples under the ban of incapacity. Wavering for the moment, in the face of events which call in question their dogmas as to the Orient, they fall back purely upon the influence of climate and, no precedent like Japan being ready there to confound them, assert that the Filipinos as a people must remain stationary where they are. That climate exercises influence upon every phase of Philippine life, social, economic, and political, has continually been forced upon our attention in the foregoing chapters. That it is at all reasonable

to expect to implant in the tropics all the political and industrial institutions of temperate regions—the question of races being wholly disregarded for the moment—or that it would be altogether desirable to do so, will hardly be maintained by any sober-minded student. That climate is a permanent factor, to be taken seriously into account, may be held to be conceded. But it is quite another thing to declare arbitrarily that human progress within the tropics of the tropical peoples themselves is impossible. Once more, the dogmatists have overshot their data.

Without attempting to settle *ex cathedra* just how far human progress may go among the denizens of the tropics, it is nevertheless the fact that Philippine history shows that the Filipinos are to be regarded as in some respects unique among the peoples of the Oriental tropics. It has seemed of late to come as a surprising thought to some Americans that the Christianising and Europeanising work of the Spaniards have somewhat differentiated the problem which faces the United States in the Philippines from that with which other nations of the Occident are dealing in different portions of the Orient and the tropics. Though tardily, to be sure, and not yet adequately, we are coming to acknowledge that our wholesale condemnation of Spain's colonial *régime*, like other unqualified judgments of a sweeping sort, came short both of complete accuracy and of full justice. To revert to a feature of Philip-

pine society which has already been noted several times, yet the significance of which must be insisted upon, the position of women in the Philippines is not typically Oriental. However much we may regard the Spanish military and religious conquest in the Philippines as a triumph over passivity, we yet have to admit that we have here a people who have been turned to at least nominal Christianity almost *en masse;* that, along with Christianity, they have, if not entirely rejecting old social institutions of a semi-feudal character or their half-developed language, at least taken up European village habits, laws, and methods so far as these would adjust themselves to a tropical climate; they have in considerable degree adopted European social manners and customs; they have, so far as their social and political leaders are concerned, adopted European ideas of politics, literature, and art; they have virtually adopted, for the higher forms of intercourse, a European language; and they have abandoned their primitive method of writing and write their own dialects in European style.

This differentiates for us in a degree which cannot be ignored the Philippine problem (aside from that of the Moros and pagans) from the problem of the English in the Malay Peninsula or Burma, and of the Dutch in Java. Spain did alter the Filipinos and their society, and for the better, despite ways in which they sometimes seem to have lost in moral vigour since the conquest;

experts in the race problem may be sure that this is an impossibility, but Philippine history reveals it to be a fact. Let us be fair enough to Spain to admit this. Above all, let us have sufficient discernment to see that Spain's partial progress, which was interrupted before her period of control was half over, but which the Filipinos themselves began to carry forward in the nineteenth century, makes it possible, nay, absolutely necessary, to proceed farther, faster, and differently from those who have assumed merely the task of promoting the material welfare of Mohammedan, or at least non-Christian, populations in the Oriental tropics. The very fact that the Filipinos themselves had already taken a hand in planning and working for their own progress as a community, as a rising nation, in fact, makes such procedure on our part politically imperative, if it does not promise a large degree of success for the effort. It is not merely a question of what the United States will, out of hand, give to the Filipinos in the way of an autonomous government; it is also a question of what the Filipinos themselves demand and will have.

Just at present, as has been pointed out, this is mainly a question of what the comparatively small upper class of Filipinos demand. Unless one is not content to leave some things with time, but must have immediate final pronouncements on everything, he will not try to decide right off how far the upper-class Filipinos may be regarded

as the valid and proper spokesmen for their people, nor how far these men may be regarded as representing what the masses of their people may some day attain. There is one view of the case which makes of José Rizal a wholly abnormal Filipino, not representative of his people's capacity or aspirations; but he who studies Rizal's growth and his career will find them perfectly responsive to the circumstances of his surroundings and to his opportunities, and a development altogether logical at every step. To repeat what has been said, it is only fair, under one aspect of the question, to take a people's best product as representative of what it may come to be. There is plenty of material for the pessimist on Filipino possibilities in observing how general among these Filipinos of the upper class is the failure to grasp the practical needs of the moment. Those Filipinos who have elsewhere been described as a sort of "Young Filipino party" are fond of indulging in splendid generalisations on a scanty basis of data acquired by real investigation and experience, and eager to plunge foremost into sociology and political philosophy before they have accomplished anything in the line of exact research.

The need of the hour in the Philippines is for men of definite attainments, men who have acquired knowledge by hard work, who will apply themselves to the immediate practical needs of the people. Yet these young men, the hope of the

hour, but one instant after having contemned the *ancien régime* for having bound their people in economic and intellectual slavery, are rushing headlong into glittering speculations of the sort which so commonly enchant the Spanish soul, pottering around the outskirts of modern science, grasping after distorted fragments of the philosophy of other nations. It is so much easier to reach great conclusions in sociology, to chase theorems of political philosophy around a stump, than to solve the practical problems of administration now facing the Philippine municipalities and towns. And yet, even if the Filipinos of the generation now at the front are displaying a greater propensity for synthesis than for analysis, for preaching than for practice, we have to note that, in their social and political ferment, they set up for their people the standards of the Occident, not those of the Orient. It may, with much show of reason, be objected that the men who have taken their education from Europe (sometimes part of it in Europe), who have done their reading in European books, and have learned what they know of law and government from Europe, do not fairly belong with the mass of their people, who have but superficially adopted a European religion, and who remain Oriental under the surface. If this be true, the conclusion is inevitable that the chief leaders of the Filipino people misrepresent that people, both as examples of what the masses may become with

education, and as witnesses to what are the aspirations of their people. These men ask for Western social and political institutions. Are they to be rejected as spokesmen of their people?

If the answer to this question be no, there is still the not smaller danger of going to an extreme in the other direction. In the preceding pages preferential attention has been given to the Filipino masses, and some most unpleasing pictures have perforce been drawn of certain phases of Filipino life. No policy, whether it be conceived and put into execution entirely by Filipinos of the cacique class or by men of a ruling race with the aid of these caciques, can ever be successful if it does not take proper account of these actual defects in the Philippine social status. To assume that any government of and by Filipinos alone will be better than any government which is in part devised for the Filipinos and imposed upon them from above, is an assumption that reads much better on a printed page than it would go in practice, as Filipinos themselves know and often will say. There would be more reason in such a view if the Filipinos had not been for more than three centuries under a domination which has changed and altered them, mainly for the better, in all the various ways which it has been possible only to hint at in these pages. But the Philippines are not a virgin field for colonisation. Between the ideals of the upper class that has been evolved during European domination and

the actual preparedness of the great majority of the people for the realisation of those ideals, there is a great gulf. Moreover, ideals do not realise themselves, as thoughtful Filipinos fully comprehend; and lack of character, of resolution and strength of will, is marked among the very Filipinos of the upper class, the men of the new ideals. One of the "Young Filipinos," one who would, however, shout for immediate political independence to-morrow, wrote recently:

"Weakness, timidity, cowardice! These are the three pre-eminent phases of the present social and political life of the people. We are almost all the victims of that atmosphere. Trained up in the same feeling, we bear adynamia in our spirit, and are easily resigned to injustice and hypocrisy. Education we must have, education of a positive character, more humane, more social, which, without destroying the fine sentiment which will always remain with us, shall moderate the great doses of sentimentality, degenerated in us to a veritable pusillanimity of will."

There are lessons of more than one sort in the final pages of *El Filibusterismo* wherein Rizal expressed his more mature sentiments regarding the chief evils of Philippine society. The old Filipino priest says to the mysterious Simoun, who had fomented governmental abuses in order to widen

the breach between the Filipinos and Spain and to hasten the time of revolt with bloodshed:

"'You thought that what crime and iniquity have stained and defiled, another crime and another iniquity might purify and redeem. A great error. Hate engenders only monstrosities, and crime begets criminals; only love produces marvels, only virtue has the power of salvation. No; if our country is some day to be free, it will not be through vice and crime, it will not be through the corruption of its sons. . . .'

"'. . . Suffer and labour?' replied Simoun. 'What sort of a God is yours?'

"'A most just God, a God who punishes our want of faith, our vices, the little regard we have for dignity and the civic virtues. We tolerate and make ourselves accomplices of vice, sometimes we even applaud it, and it is most just that we suffer its consequences, and that our sons too suffer them. It is the God of liberty, sir, who obliges us to love liberty by making our yoke heavy . . . I do not mean to say that we are to gain liberty at the edge of the sword, but that we have to win it by deserving it, by raising the dignity and worth of the individual, by loving the just and the good and the great to the extent of being willing to die for them. When a people reaches that height, God furnishes the proper arm, and the idols and the tyrants fall as falls a castle built of cards, and liberty shines forth with

the first succeeding dawn. We owe the ill that afflicts us to ourselves; let us not put the blame on any one else. If Spain saw that we were less complaisant in the face of tyranny, and readier to strive and to suffer for our rights, Spain would be the first to give us liberty; for, when the fruit of conception reaches maturity, woe be the mother who would smother it! But so long as the Filipino people has not sufficient vigour to proclaim, with erect front and bared breast, its right to the social life, and to make that right good by sacrifice, with its own blood; so long as we see that our countrymen, though hearing in their private life the voice of shame and the clamours of conscience, yet in public life hold their peace or join the chorus about him who commits abuses and ridicule the victim of the abuse; so long as we see them shut themselves up to their own egoism and praise with forced smile the most iniquitous acts, while their eyes are begging a part of the booty of such acts, why should liberty be given to them? With Spain or without Spain, they would be always the same, and perhaps, perhaps, they would be worse. Of what use would be independence if the slaves of to-day would be the tyrants of to-morrow? And they would be so without doubt, for he loves tyranny who submits to it. So long as our people is not prepared, but goes to the contest impelled by deceit or dragged into it by force from above, and without a clear understanding of what it is to do, the wisest

efforts in that direction will come to nothing, and better that they should. . . .'"

This was published eight years before the Filipinos, after a formless and not general revolt against Spain, had gained, with the coincident crippling of Spanish power by the American forces, some general conceptions of nationality and had then turned in revolt against the United States because it would not recognise the one-sided and defective organisation which claimed to represent that nationality. The most unfriendly critic of the Filipinos cannot but admit that they stood forth in the unequal contest which succeeded more nearly in a heroic attitude than ever before. But did they, in their conduct of the warfare, realise Rizal's ideal of the "erect front and bared breast?" Did not the masses who bore the brunt of the disasters consequent upon war go to the contest "impelled by deceit or dragged by force from above"? Finally, have the men of the directing class yet rejected the demagogue and the ways of the demagogue among themselves? A Filipino who has taken an active part in the recent campaign of the Filipino press against the abuses of the constabulary and against the petty tyranny of certain other of the subordinate American officials, who wishes to see Filipino participation in government more rapidly extended, and who has of late been critical of the American administration in other ways, while he

declares his people ready to support "a completely autonomous *régime*," in a recent private letter to the writer, yet adds in the very next breath: "What we need is a form of supervision, so that *pronunciamentos* may not be imposed. I recognise that *alone* and independent we should present the same spectacle as Venezuela."

Primarily, the effort has been to set forth in the foregoing pages the social medium of the Philippine Islands to-day, rather than to describe the details of Filipino life. In this rough sketch of the underlying causes and conditions in Philippine society, innumerable little charms of the country and graces of the people, those below as well as those above, have failed of adequate mention. They are things, over and above the disagreeable features of the present situation, which make the sympathetic sojourner feel kindly disposed toward the Filipinos and optimistic regarding their future. In large part, they are things which must continue to escape the brush of the artist or the pen of the writer. This brief survey of the main movements of Philippine life will have best served a purpose if it shall tend to check too hasty generalisations from insignificant or insufficient data, and to prevent dogmatisms about the Filipinos either in an extremely favourable or extremely unfavourable sense.

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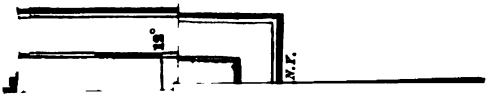
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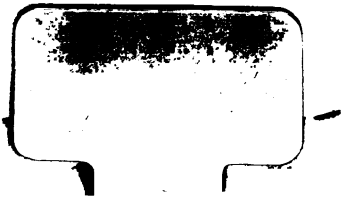
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